

THE RULE FOR NUNS OF ST. CAESARIUS OF ARLES:
A TRANSLATION WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

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THE RULE FOR NUNS
OF ST. CAESARIUS OF ARLES:
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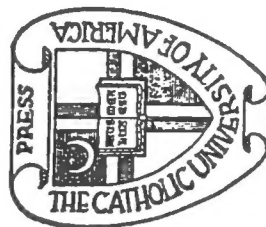
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PREFACE

Early in the sixth century St. Caesarius, the vigorous and capable bishop of Arles, built a convent and wrote a Rule for a community of nuns he had founded in his diocese. Historians have long regarded this *Rule for Nuns* as fundamental to the study of monasticism in the Merovingian period; they are becoming increasingly aware that it touches on many points of significance for the whole history of the development of monasticism for women. In recent years, impetus has been given to the study of this Rule and its author by the labors of the two eminent Benedictine scholars, Dom Germain Morin and Dom Cyrille Lambot. As a part of his life's work of collecting and editing the writings of Caesarius, Morin published a critical edition of the Rule in 1933, after he had presented, in the previous year, a summary of his studies on the text problems of the Rule. His confrere Lambot soon followed this edition with an analysis of its contents, and with a special study of what he saw as one of its unique features for the times—its regulations for an absolute cloister. In his studies on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, Lambot treated of some of the significant points concerning the dependence of Caesarius' Rule on that of Augustine. Both Morin and Lambot have hailed the Rule of Caesarius as the earliest extant monastic code having as its expressed purpose adaptation to the needs of women religious. Father André Duval, O.P., and Father Michael Olphe-Galliard, S.J., have dealt with Caesarius' Rule in their recent studies of various aspects of the development of religious life for women. Impetus to such studies has come in the last decade from the movement in the Church for renewal and adaptation within the states of perfection.

This study will present for the first time an English translation of the *Rule for Nuns*, and an introduction which, with the notes to the translation, will detail much that will help toward a more appreciative reading of the Rule and an understanding of its place in monastic history. The Rule belies the worth of its contents by its apparently disorganized character and unevenness of style. The reader will therefore, need the synthesis which will be given here of previous studies on the Rule. He will also be helped by the further

investigations of the present writer especially on the following points: the style, organization, and central ideas of the Rule; its sources and the nature of these sources themselves; the force of Caesarius' own earnest, practical spirituality in the shaping of his monastic ideal; the procedure for the celebration of Divine Office which his Rule gives; and finally, such details as the location of the convent in which his nuns lived and the type of community life they led. All of these studies will help to clarify the meaning of obscure terminology in the text of the Rule itself.

Greater use will be made here than in previous studies of the wealth of source material available on Caesarius and his nuns. His numerous sermons, his two extant letters to the nuns, his *Rule for Monks*, his Testament, the bull of monastic exemption he obtained from the Pope, the *Vita sancti Caesarii* written by his contemporaries, and other relevant sixth- and seventh-century sources will be utilized to show his style and method of writing, his characteristic spiritual teachings and their expression in the Rule, and the evaluation his contemporaries placed on his monastic endeavors. Recent archaeological studies will be investigated for the information they supply on the setting in which the Rule was practised. A more detailed exposition of Caesarius' sources will be given here than has previously been attempted. Where problems are encountered concerning the nature of these sources themselves—the monastic tradition of Lerins and the *Rule of St. Augustine*—the present status of the study of these problems will be outlined to give some indication of the place of Caesarius' Rule in the whole picture of early monastic history.

The writer wishes to thank her religious superiors in the Society of the Holy Child Jesus for the opportunity of pursuing graduate studies at the Catholic University of America. She is most sincerely grateful to the Right Reverend Monsignor Aloysius K. Ziegler for suggesting the topic of this dissertation and for his guidance and encouragement throughout the course of its composition, and to Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire and Dr. Brian Tierney for their careful reading of the manuscript and constructive criticisms. She owes a debt of gratitude to the Right Reverend Monsignor Henry G. J. Beck, Dom Cyrille Lambot, and Monsieur François Masai for helpful suggestions for this study. She thanks the librarians of the Catholic University of America and of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library for their courtesy and co-operation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | PAGE |
| CHAPTER | v |
| I THE SETTING OF THE RULE | 1 |
| The Author: St. Caesarius of Arles (470-542) | 1 |
| The Community, Convent, and City of Arles | 13 |
| The Status of Convent Life in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries | 28 |
| II THE STATE OF THE TEXT | 31 |
| Evidence for the Authenticity and Integrity of Morin's Text | 31 |
| <i>The Manuscripts</i> | 31 |
| <i>The Style and Wording of the Rule</i> | 35 |
| <i>The Content of Other Contemporary Rules</i> | 47 |
| III THE ANALYSIS OF THE RULE | 49 |
| Basic Ideas | 49 |
| The Patristic Heritage of Consecrated Virginity | 51 |
| Adaptation of Cenobitic Life for Women Religious | 60 |
| Outline Analysis of the Rule | 80 |
| IV THE SOURCES OF THE RULE | 88 |
| The Lerins Tradition: | |
| <i>The Rule for Monks of Caesarius and the "Rule of Lerins"</i> | 90 |
| <i>The Regula Magistri and the Regula Macarii</i> | 95 |
| <i>Cassian</i> | 99 |
| <i>The Rule of St. Augustine</i> | 107 |
| Table Showing the Dependence of the <i>Rule for Nuns</i> on its Sources | 127 |
| Compared Latin Texts of the <i>Rule for Nuns</i> and Its Sources | 130 |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| V THE INFLUENCE OF THE RULE | 154 |
| Limited Nature of Its Influence | 154 |
| Possible Influence on the <i>Rule St. Benedict</i> and the <i>Regula Tarnatisensis</i> | 155 |
| Influence on Merovingian Rules and Monasteries | 158 |
| CONCLUSION | 162 |
| TRANSLATION OF THE <i>Rule for Nuns</i> | 170 |
| APPENDIX I | 205 |
| APPENDIX II | 207 |
| ABBREVIATIONS | 207 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 208 |
| INDEX | 209 |

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING OF THE RULE

The Author: St. Caesarius of Arles (470-542)

The *Rule for Nuns* expresses the ideals and convictions of one of the first great bishops of the early Middle Ages; it is best understood when seen within the framework of his whole active, fruitful life. As metropolitan of the leading ecclesiastical province of southern Gaul in the sixth century—a legislator, theologian, and preacher, a zealous shepherd of clergy, religious, and laity—Caesarius of Arles helped to lay the foundations of Western Christendom. Today there is an ever-increasing appreciation of his forceful personality and achievements particularly as they are revealed through his own writings, and through the *Vita sancti Caesarii* written by his contemporaries.¹ At the end of the last century, the Abbé Malnory's biography, which is still unsurpassed, and that of Carl F. Arnold, did much to make the Saint better known;² but the real impetus to the study of Caesarius has come from the monumental labors of Dom Morin. In 1942 he completed a work begun

¹ G. Morin, O. S. B., "Les éditions des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles du XVI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours," *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1931), 23-27; and "The Homilies of St. Caesarius of Arles. Their Influence on the Christian Civilization of Europe," *Orate Fratres*, XIV (1940), 481-86; also, C. Lambot, O. S. B., "La première édition critique des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Rev. Bén.*, XLIX (1937), 385-88; and "Les oeuvres complètes de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Rev. Bén.*, LIV (1942), 151-53; P. Lejay, "Césaire d'Arles," *DTC*, II (1932), 2169-70. Notes 2 and 3 *infra* further illustrate the growing interest in Caesarius and recognition of his achievements.

² A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire, évêque d'Arles, 503-543* (Paris, 1894); and C. F. Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, 1894). Another biography of Caesarius which follows Malnory closely is M. Chailan, *S. Césaire* (Paris, 1912). Scholars consistently prefer Malnory; see, e. g. G. Morin, "Problèmes relatifs à la règle de s. Césaire d'Arles pour les moniales," *Rev. Bén.*, XLIV (1932), 8, n. 1 (hereafter cited as Morin, "Problèmes"); and P. Lejay, *op. cit.*, col. 2185.

more than fifty years before, the collecting and editing of all the extant works of Caesarius, including two hundred thirty-eight vigorous sermons.³ Morin's edition, which includes the *Vita sancti Caesarii* and other pertinent documents, has been a new stimulus to scholars to study the thought and activities of this great ecclesiastic.⁴

This study will deal with the contribution of the Saint to religious life for women through the Rule he wrote for nuns. It will be introduced by a summary of his life and achievements to indicate the setting of his monastic endeavors, and to show that these were an integral part of the pastoral ministry dominated and unified by the conviction that life was a preparation for heaven: "No one can get around it, dearly beloved, the homeland of Christians is in heaven, it is not here!"⁵ That thought, ever on his lips, was a

³ Caesarii sancti *Opera omnia*, ed. G. Morin (2 vols. Maredsous, 1937-42), hereafter cited as *Opera*. Vol. I, parts i and ii, *Sermones*, (1937) contains Caesarius' two-hundred thirty-eight sermons. Vol. II, *Opera varia*, contains letters, short theological works, the *Rule for Nuns*, the *Rule for Monks*, the will of Caesarius, records of councils over which he presided, and the *Vita sancti Caesarii*. Bk. I of the latter (hereafter cited as *Vita I*) was written by three contemporary bishops and friends of Caesarius, Cyprian of Toulon, Firminus of Uzès, and Viventius (whose see is not known). Bk. II was written by two clerics of Arles, the priest Messianus and the deacon, Stephen. It will be cited hereafter as *Vita II*. The text of the *Regula sanctorum virginum* will not be cited from *Opera II*, but from fasc. XXXIV of Flor. Patris. (Dann, 1932), in which Morin first published it. He made no changes in the text when he included it in *Opera II* in 1942.

⁴ The following give some idea of the specialized studies on St. Caesarius which have been appearing at regular intervals: P. Jay, "Le purgatoire dans la prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XXIV (Jan.-June, 1957), 5-14; M. Dorenkemper, *The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles* (Fribourg, 1953); G. Bardy, "L'attitude politique de saint Césaire d'Arles," *RHEF*, XXXI (1947), 241-56; K. Berg, *Die Werke des hl. Caesarius von Arles als liturgie-geschichtliche Quelle* (Gregorian Univ. Diss.; an extract only is published, Munich, 1940); J. Rivière, "La doctrine de la Rédemption chez saint Césaire d'Arles," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, XLIV (1944), 3-20. Other recent studies, such as, H. G. J. Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950), have made St. Caesarius one of their central figures even though their scope was broader than that of a single personage.

⁵ Caesarii *Sermo CII*, *Opera I*, part ii, 584. Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-75,

spur within to his intensely practical nature, producing a rich store of apostolic activity throughout his long life of seventy-three years.

The basic conviction of his life seemed already strong in Caesarius at the age of twenty. "For love of the kingdom of heaven" he left his comfortable home, against the determined opposition of his parents, to become a monk of Lerins. For two years before, he had been a cleric of his native Burgundian diocese of Chalons-sur-Saône, residing at home according to the custom of the time.⁶ He was to find, in the period he spent at Lerins (about 490-97), a decline in the pristine fervor which had made the island monastery famous throughout the fifth century. Though the account his biographers give of this period is brief, the picture they present is clear, and serves as one of the few extant records of life at Lerins at the end of the fifth century. Caesarius was elected early in his religious life, to the post of cellarer, and was almost as quickly removed at the demand of some of the brethren whose requests for superfluities he persistently rejected. Undaunted by the tepidity of the community, the young monk Caesarius was determined to follow in the saintly footsteps of the founders and great "Fathers" of Lerins, Honoratus, Hilary, Eucherius, and Faustus. He adopted the semi-solitary and more penitential life that was permitted at Lerins to individual monks.⁷ Living in his own little hut, preparing his own insufficient food, and meeting with the community only for the celebration of Office, he so injured his health that his abbot Porcarius felt obliged to send him from the island monastery to the nearby city of Arles for medical treatment.⁸ The decisive step the monk Caesarius took while there must be viewed in the light in which his biographers record it. They tell how he allowed Bishop

discusses and illustrates the predominance of this theme in the sermons of St. Caesarius and those of other preachers of the period.

⁶ *Vita I*, 4, 298.

⁷ Malmory, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁸ *Vita I*, 4, 7, 298-99. Malmory, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-12, follows the *Vita* closely here, adding details concerning the early history of Lerins and its "Fathers"; for this early history see also L. Cristiani, *Lerins et ses Fondateurs* (Abbaye de S. Wandrille, 1946); and H. Leclercq, "Lerins," *DACL*, VI (1929), 2597-2604. See Appendix I for the principal dates in Caesarius' life.

⁹ *Vita I*, 7, 299.

Eonius to obtain his release from Lerins and to ordain him a priest of Arles. They add immediately: "Never giving up the canonical chant of the monk, nor the rules and customs of Lerins, by order and office a cleric, he remained a monk in humility, in charity, in submission, in the cross."¹⁰

Lerins thus became the springboard for both the ecclesiastical career and the spiritual development of Caesarius. Its monastic tradition is so much a part of his own *Rule for Nuns* that its full treatment must be reserved for later chapters on the ideal and the sources of the rule.¹¹ It is relevant to note here that the Lerins tradition held up as an ideal not only the perfect monk which it endeavored to form, but also its own remarkable succession of monk-bishops—Honoratus and Hilary of Arles, Eucherius of Lyons, and Faustus of Riez—who went forth from their monastery throughout the fifth century as able, zealous shepherds of the Gallic Church.¹² As the sixth century opened and Eonius lay dying, it was not strange that he should have nominated and the people of Arles have accepted as his successor, Caesarius, the monk of Lerins who had come to live among them.¹³

By the end of the first decade of his forty-year episcopate (502-542),¹⁴ the young bishop had a firm grasp on the affairs of his province.¹⁵ Under his presidency the Council of Agde (506) ushered in a new era for the Church of Gaul with a reform of clerical and monastic discipline;¹⁶ in his own cathedral he had organized his clergy for the chanting of the Little Hours.¹⁷ He had won respect and even friendship in his diplomatic dealings with

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 300.

¹¹ See pp. 58, 88-106 *infra*.

¹² Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 2597-2600; also Cristiani, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹³ *Vita* I, 13-14, 301.

¹⁴ 502-542 are now the more commonly accepted dates for Caesarius' episcopate. The arguments for these dates and the names of the scholars who support them are presented in Appendix I.

¹⁵ G. de Planval, "Césaire d'Arles," *DHGE*, XII (Paris, 1953), 186-96, covers all aspects of Caesarius' episcopate.

¹⁶ See the documents of the Council of Agde, ed. Morin in *Opera* II, 36-59; also de Planval, *op. cit.*, cols. 189-90. Lambot, "Césaire," col. 202, gives an excellent summary of Caesarius' work of monastic reform through this Council.

¹⁷ *Vita* I, 15, 301-302.

Arian rulers, and had thus been able to ransom many war victims.¹⁸ Despite the turbulence of his times and his many administrative duties, he had managed to write a rule for monks and for nuns, and to build a convent for the nuns;¹⁹ always in the midst of his labors he found time to preach.²⁰ The privileges which Pope Symmachus conferred on him in 514 are the best evaluation of his capabilities and achievements. The Pope restored and added to the prerogatives of the metropolitan see of Arles, prerogatives which had been granted to Bishop Patroclus a century earlier, but had not been renewed after the middle of the fifth century. Caesarius was given power to treat of all questions of faith arising in Gaul and Spain. To him all clerics from these countries traveling to Rome had to refer for credentials. He had the power to convoke councils, and to consecrate bishops except within the jurisdiction of the province of Vienne. Patroclus, who had first obtained great privileges for Arles in a settlement over the relative jurisdictions of Arles and Vienne, had had metropolitan rights over Vienne, but not Caesarius' powers over Spain and over questions of faith. Nor, apparently, had Patroclus acquired Caesarius' position of intermediary between the Pope and civil authorities. Pope Symmachus set his seal on the jurisdiction given Caesarius by honoring him with the pallium—at that time worn only by the Pope and metropolitans who served the Holy See in some special capacity—and by granting his deacons the privilege of wearing the dalmatic as did the Roman deacons.²¹

¹⁸ For the dealings of Caesarius with Alaric and the ransoming of captives, see *Vita* I, 20, 303-304, 308-309; Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50, 94-97; for dealings with Theodoric, see *Vita* I, 36-38, 310-312; and Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-101. See also E. F. Brunck, "Caesarius of Arles and the Lex Romana Visigothorum," *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio Ruiz*, I (Naples, 1953), 201-17; G. Bardy, "L'attitude politique de saint Césaire d'Arles," *RHEF*, XXXI (1947), 241-56.

¹⁹ See pp. 8-10 *infra*. For the dating of the founding of the convent, see Appendix I.

²⁰ In describing the major works which Caesarius took up at the beginning of his episcopate, his biographers noted that his zeal for preaching manifested itself immediately: *Vita* I, 17-19, 302-303; they refer to it constantly throughout his life: *Vita* I and II *passim*. For studies on the sermons see n. 31 *infra*.

²¹ Morin has included in *Opera* II, 9-10, 12-14, the letters of Symmachus restoring and adding to the special prerogatives of the metropolitan of Arles.

The Saint responded to the early recognition of his worth by an increased zeal. For the next thirty years he continued that unremitting labor to which he was ever spurred, as he often said, by the thought of answering for himself and his flock "before the tribunal of Christ."²² Through the direction of five councils after Agde—Arles, 524; Carpentras, 527; Orange, 529; Vaison, 529; and Marseilles, 533—he legislated successively to uplift the standards and regulate the lives and training of monks, clerics, and bishops; to organize and invigorate parishes in both urban and rural areas;²³ and to encourage preaching.²⁴ The councils also show his interest in the liturgy. The canons of Vaison provide for the use of the *Sancius* in all public Masses, the more frequent use of the *Kyrie Eleison* at Mass, and the addition of the "*sicut erat*" to the *Gloria Patri*.²⁵ He is perhaps best known for the Council of Orange and his clear formulation, in opposition to Semi-Pelagianism, of the Augustinian doctrine of grace, which formulation has become part of Catholic dogma. Though historians agree that Caesarius played a significant role at Orange, it was only in the preservation and transmission of doctrine. He was not, as was Augustine, whom he revered and followed, a speculative theologian.²⁶

L. Royer, "Arles," *DHGE*, IV (1930), 232-35, surveys the history of the prerogatives. Lejay, *op. cit.*, col. 2109, and G. de Plinval, "L'activité doctrinale dans l'église Gallo-Romaine," *Histoire de l'église*, IV (ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, Paris, 1937), 410, discuss the prerogatives as they applied to Caesarius. E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque Romaine: II L'église des Gaules au V^e siècle* (Paris, 1957), 100-33, 148-51, 189-201, treats thoroughly of Arles and its prerogatives in the fifth century.

Vita I, 42, 313 tells of the privileges granted to wear the pallium and dalmatic. Leclercq, "Pallium," *DACL*, XIII, part i (1937), 931-37; and "Dalmatique," *DACL*, IV, part i (1920), 111-13, discusses the history of their use.

²² For the frequency with which this thought recurs in Caesarius' sermons, see Morin's *Index verborum et locutionum*, *Opera* I, part ii, 1033.

²³ *Concilia a Caesario habita*, *Opera* II, 35-96. *Concilium Arelatense* IV, (524), pp. 60-62; *Concilium Carpentoratense* (527), 63-66; *Concilium Vasense* II (529), pp. 85-88; *Concilium Massiliense* (533), pp. 88-89.

²⁴ *Conc. Vasense*, *Opera* II, p. 86; see Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-69, on Caesarius' work in encouraging preaching.

²⁵ *Conc. Vasense*, pp. 80-87.

²⁶ de Plinval, *op. cit.*, cols. 191-92; de Plinval gives further bibliography: see especially G. Fritz, "Orange (Deuxième concile d')" *DTC*, XI (1931), 1087-1103.

As Augustine was to live on through the native genius of his original and penetrating thought, Caesarius would live on precisely through his peculiar talent—lively, earnest moral exhortation. Although his sermons are a continuous reminder of his great debt to the Fathers before him, especially Augustine, they are above all a revelation of his own vigorous apostolic spirit. His own sermons and his efforts to promote good preaching among his clergy are his most characteristic and lasting achievement. He formed a veritable "publishing house" with the young clerics of Arles; they compiled collections of sermons, his own and those of the Fathers, copied them, and disseminated them throughout Europe, that priests and deacons incapable of preaching might read them to the people. Centuries later, and in far-away Spain, England, and Germany, as well as in Caesarius' own Gaul, they were still in use.²⁷

Above all, the sermons evoke the scene of personal contact between the bishop and his people in the cathedral of Arles. In pithy, unpretentious language with many a homely example, he admonishes his flock against the sins of drunkenness, impurity, superstition, and greed;²⁸ explains to them the Scriptures and the feasts of the Church;²⁹ and exhorts them unceasingly to cultivate the supernatural life so as to produce fruit for eternity.³⁰ There is hardly an aspect of human life or an obligation of morals or worship on which the Saint does not touch. The infinite wealth of the sermons cannot be even indicated here, and the reader must be referred to the excellent studies of Dom Morin, Canon Bardy, and Monsignor Beck.³¹ Paradoxically it is the sermons, illustrating the great

²⁷ Morin, "The Homilies of St. Caesarius of Arles," *op. cit.*, 481-89. See also the studies listed below, and P. Lejay, *op. cit.*, cols. 2168-85. Caesarius must have been inspired by Augustine's zeal for preaching. Perhaps, too, the popular style used by Augustine in his sermons, encouraged Caesarius to give free rein to his own familiar style.

²⁸ Caesarii *Sermones de diversis seu admonitiones I-LXXXI*, *Opera* I, part i, 3-316, *passim*.

²⁹ Caesarii *Sermones de scriptura LXXXI-CLXXXVI*, *Opera* I, part i and ii, 319-719; *Sermones de tempore CLXXXVII-CCXXXII*, *Opera* II, part ii, 723-875.

³⁰ This is the ever-recurring theme of all the sermons.

³¹ Morin, "The Homilies . . .," *op. cit.*; G. Bardy, "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles," *RHEF*, XXIX (1943), 201-36; Beck, *op. cit.*, especially

breadth of the interests and experiences of St. Caesarius, which at the same time highlight his absolute single-mindedness—"No one can get around it . . . the home of Christians is in heaven, it is not here!"³²

The foregoing crowded sketch of St. Caesarius' life still lacks one of its major portions—his efforts to promote monasticism, especially for women. Since these will be treated throughout the remainder of this dissertation exclusive of the other aspects of his life, an effort will be made here to summarize them briefly within the framework of his whole active fruitful life. They fit quite naturally with his other activities into that central theme of his determination to arrive in heaven some day at the head of his whole flock.

There are scattered but striking bits of evidence that Bishop Caesarius labored widely and zealously to promote religious life for men. First among these is a *Rule for Monks* ascribed to him in two manuscripts, although it cannot be assigned to any known monastery nor dated. Though much shorter and more terse in expression than the *Rule for Nuns* it is so similar to it that there is no doubt of a relationship between the two. Probably the monks' rule was a source for the nuns'. It clearly had a wide area of influence, for its *Incipit* states that it was transmitted to "various monasteries" by the Saint's nephew, the priest Teridius.³³ Other indications that Bishop Caesarius took an interest in several communities of monks can be added to this. Pope Hormisdas, in a letter to Caesarius, mentioned communities of clerics and monks at Arles.³⁴ There is every reason to believe that the Bishop con-

pp. 259-283. Sr. M. Magdeleine Mueller, O. S. F., has translated the eighty *Sermons or Admonitions on Various Topics of Caesarius* with an informative introduction on Caesarius and the work of Morin: see *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. XXXI, ed. R. J. Deferrari et al. (New York, 1956).

³² Caesarii *Sermo CII*, *Opera* I, part ii, 584.

³³ The text of Caesarius' *Regula monachorum* has been edited by Morin in *Opera* II, 149-54. All but a few passages not found in the *Rule for Nuns* have been printed in this study, pp. 130-153 *infra* to show its great similarity to the *Rule for Nuns*. C. Lambot, "Césaire d'Arles (Règles de saint)," *DDC*, III (1942), 200-78, (hereafter cited as "Césaire") provides a brief study of the *Rule for Monks*. His findings concerning its manuscripts, etc., are given in greater detail in Chapter III, *infra*.

³⁴ *Dilectissimo fratri Caesario Hormisdas*, ed. Morin, *Opera* II, 125-27.

tinued his interest in the monastery of Trinquetaille, a suburb of Arles, where he was superior for the three years prior to his elevation to the episcopate. In the first Council over which he presided, at Agde in 506, he did much to promote monastic reform in his province.³⁵ Finally, Dom Morin has ascribed to Caesarius six sermons preached to monks. The preacher himself reveals that one of them was addressed to Lerins,³⁶ and another to a monastery which may have been in the modern Blanzac;³⁷ the other four give no indication of the "various monasteries" in which they were preached. One is addressed to both monks and nuns.³⁸ The very fact of his abiding interest in Lerins would seem to provide assurance that the Bishop of Arles remained the friend and father of monks and nuns, for its tradition was one which ever fired men with a zeal for the promotion of the monastic life.³⁹

In thought and in action St. Caesarius occupied himself for many years with his nuns. He made their rule the core and symbol of all his work. He had it ready for them at the foundation of the convent in 512,⁴⁰ and then, with great wisdom and solicitude, caused it to grow with their needs. In 534 he presented the community with a final revision and a recapitulation, ordering the first form of the rule destroyed.⁴¹ The author's own account in the

³⁵ *Vita* I, 12-13, 301, records his stay at the monastery. Lambot, "Césaire," col. 202, sums up the monastic reforms of Agde.

³⁶ *Sermo CCXXXVI*, *Opera* I, part ii, 894.

³⁷ *Sermo CCXXXIII*, pp. 879-85. Morin, p. 879, suggests Blanzac, dép. Charente, as the identification of Blandiacens. Leclercq, "Lieu (Noms de)," *DACL*, IX, part i (1930), 781 also identifies "Blandiacus" as Blanzac.

³⁸ *Sermones CCXXXIV*, pp. 885-89; *CCXXXV*, pp. 889-93; *CCXXXVII*, pp. 898-902; *CCXXXVIII*, 903-906; the last is headed "Ad servos vel ancillas dei: de bono praebendo exemplo."

³⁹ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; G. Weigel, *Faustus of Riez* (Phila., 1938), pp. 32, 40-47.

⁴⁰ *Regula sanctorum virginum* (hereafter cited as *Reg. virg.*), Flor. Patris, XXXIV (Bonn, 1933), chap. 1, p. 5; chap. 48, p. 18. Hereafter chap. and p. nos. for *Reg. virg.* will be given without "chap." and "p.", the numbers being separated by commas.

⁴¹ The manuscript of Tours (M. 617), which Morin was apparently the first to use for a printed edition of the Rule, supplies, "Paulino consule tempore" at the end of Caesarius' subscription of the Rule, and the date "sub die X kl. iul." Morin (*Reg. virg.*, p. 26; and *Opera* II, 99), identifies the year as 534.

rule is the best description of his twenty-two years of labor in revising and adding to it:

Although . . . at the beginning . . . we framed a rule for you, nevertheless afterwards through many changes in it we added and deleted things. After examining and testing what you can carry out, we have now settled upon what is in harmony with reason and possibility and sanctity. In so far as we have been able to determine by diligent experiment, the rule has been so moderated under God's inspiration. . . . In order that those things which we have established may be imprinted in your hearts more firmly, we have wished to make this little recapitulation, which I have written in my own hand.⁴³

There are solid grounds (to be presented in Chapter II *infra*) for accepting Dom Morin's critical edition of the Rule used in this study as substantially the same as the revised form of the "Rule proper" and of the Recapitulation given by Caesarius in 534. In this edition the "Rule proper" consists of forty-seven chapters of varying length;⁴⁴ it is followed by the Recapitulation commencing with chapter 48,⁴⁵ and directions for Divine office and fasting—chapters 66-71.⁴⁶ Chapters 72 and 73 appear from their content to be a sort of postscript to the whole.⁴⁷

Caesarius wished his nuns to know that there was another element in this detailed rule besides his own experience, and another aspect to his method of composing: "... we do not speak out of our own presumption, but according to . . . that which abounds in the books of the ancient Fathers."⁴⁸ He meant that quite literally. He tells us himself that the *Ordo* is from Lerins.⁴⁹ Apparently he borrowed from other writings stemming from the Lerins tradition—his own *Rule for Monks* and Cassian. He also borrowed from the *Rule of St. Augustine* for about two-thirds of the Rule proper.⁵⁰ Having poured the best of his own experience and of the wisdom of the

⁴³ *Reg. virg.*, 48, 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-47, 5-17.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

⁴⁷ Throughout this study the "*Rule of St. Augustine*" designates that form which it is found in the earliest manuscript—a rule for monks consisting of the *Regula secunda* and the *Regula Augustini*; for a discussion of these texts, see pp. 107-109 *infra*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 65, 22.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 66, 22.

Fathers into his Rule, Caesarius determined to make his influence endure unchanged. Sometime before 523 he secured a bull from Pope Hormisdas which guaranteed the nuns against any interference from future bishops of Arles—"none of the bishops who are your successors shall dare to claim any power in the aforesaid monastery."⁵¹

The founder could be as practical concerning material security as he was concerning the spiritual. In the same bull he obtained a great concession much against the practice of the times, that of papal sanction for the alienation of considerable property of the Church of Arles for the perpetual support of the convent.⁵² Pope Symmachus had understandably refused to sanction this in 513, as the alienation of diocesan property had been expressly forbidden by the Councils of Rome (502) and Agde (506), and it would be forbidden again at Rome in 535.⁵³ Caesarius, however, clung tenaciously to an exception he believed necessary and charged the nuns in their Rule to hold fast to their bull and its privileges.⁵⁴

As he approached his last days the security of the nuns became his greatest preoccupation. Throughout his long life, while retaining a monk at heart, he never allowed his enthusiasm for religious life to infringe upon the full exercise of his pastoral office,⁵⁵ but now he revealed his predilection. He made a will of which his nuns were almost the sole beneficiaries. It reaffirmed the force of Hormisdas' bull, and added for the support of the convent the usufruct of certain other properties of the diocese.⁵⁶

On August 27, 542, knowing that his death was imminent, Caesarius asked to be carried to the convent. Practical father that he was, he reminded the nuns that his will commended their interests to his successor and the clergy, and he gave them letters of commendation to the civil authorities. His last spiritual counsel

⁵¹ Hormisdas, *op. cit.*, p. 126. See p. 66 f. *infra* for discussion of this "monastic exemption."

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 206-67; also G. de Plinval, "Césaire," *DHGE*, XII, 213.

⁵⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 64, 22.

⁵⁵ Bardy, "Césaire," *DSAM*, II, 425.

⁵⁶ *Testamentum, Opera* II, 283-90. Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 206-67; de Plinval, "Césaire," *DHGE*, XII, 213.

was simple and comprehensive: that they "hold fast to the rule . . . which he himself had drawn up several years before."⁵⁶ Blessing the inconsolable and weeping nuns he was carried back to his church to die amidst his equally sorrowing bishops, priests, deacons, and people. His cult began immediately and flourished as the sixth century progressed. Ennodius,⁵⁷ Fortunatus⁵⁸ and Gregory of Tours⁵⁹ witness to the belief current even in his own lifetime—that a saint had shepherded Arles for forty years.

The foregoing pages have been very much in the tradition of mediæval hagiography—Caesarius has been "all saint," of heroic proportions. Nevertheless, he had a very human side to his character, and it, too, should be mentioned for its bearing on his monastic endeavors. He, the ever zealous disciplinarian in ecclesiastical matters, insisted tenaciously, almost stubbornly, on an exception for his nuns, to the law against alienation of diocesan property, though he was in a position to see the dangers of such a precedent. He, the firm upholder of episcopal authority, insured the convent against the authority of his successors, at a time when no papal supervision existed in practice to replace episcopal, nor would it exist for centuries. Was there, in these actions, a too-personal attachment to the most rewarding of his labors, an undue confidence in the competence of his Rule? Perhaps there were these faults in Caesarius, and perhaps they explain in part why his Rule fell into disuse. But even in these faults there was a providential element for the development of religious life for women! The institution needed, in his times, just the strong personal enthusiasm for a definite ideal and pattern of life for nuns that a founder like Caesarius gave it. If personal motives were mingled with the supernatural, they worked ultimately, as did all his labors, for the good of the universal Church. On his deathbed, recalling his love for Augustine, St. Caesarius spoke his own best epitaph: "You yourselves know how much I have always loved his most Catholic sense!"⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Vita* II, 47, 344.

⁵⁷ Ennodii *Epistula Caesario episcopo*, ed. Morin, *Opera* II, 3-4.

⁵⁸ Venantii Fortunati *Opera Portica*, ed. F. Leo, MGH, *Auc. ant.*, IV, part i (Berlin, 1881), *Carmen* v, ii, 67-70 and v, iii, 36-38.

⁵⁹ Gregorii Turonensis *Historia Francorum* ed. W. Arndt, MGH *SS. rer. mæc.* I, part i (Hannover, 1885), ix, 40, 43.

⁶⁰ *Vita* II, 40, 343.

The Community, Convent, and City of Arles

A religious rule, like any code of laws, needs to be viewed against the background not only of its author's life but of the people, the place, and the times with which it was associated. Fortunately, this setting for St. Caesarius' Rule can be reconstructed from several sixth-century sources, notably his biography, his will, documents connected with the convent and its abbesses, and allusions within the Rule itself; and from linking these with recent archaeological findings in Arles.

The information however, is supplied in the form of jig-saw puzzle pieces which must be fitted together, and even when the puzzle is worked it reveals, as might be expected, some missing pieces. Where evidence concerning certain passages of the rule is incomplete or controversial, the varying interpretations of scholars concerning it will be presented. The "setting" for the Rule will be given under the following heads: a summary of the chief events known about the convent in the sixth century; a description of the location and exterior and interior of the convent as far as these can be known; an indication of the life of Arles in the sixth century; and finally a few general notions concerning the status of development of monasticism when St. Caesarius began his labors for women religious. It is hoped that this background, as well as that just presented on the life of Caesarius, will provide an integrated commentary on the translation. There are notes attached to the text, but in many cases the reader of the translation will find clarifications and explanations in these pages.

This attempt to "chronicle" the convent, gleaned as it is from varied sources, must necessarily take the form of jottings. It opens with a short but dramatic scene which occurred about 508 at the time of the siege of Arles. The young bishop was all afire with a plan to "adorn the Church of Arles" with a community of nuns among whom would be his own sister Caesaria. "With his own hands and by his own sweat" he labored to construct their convent.⁶¹ An old and creditable tradition has always placed the site of this convent just outside the city walls at Alesamps where a cemetery and one of the shrines of the city's patron, St. Genesius, were

⁶¹ *Vita* I, 28, 306-307.

located.⁶² Casarius built hastily because he feared the depredations of the Franco-Burgundian and Ostrogothic armies then fighting over the possession of Arles. Suddenly, his worst fears were realized and his enthusiasm turned to grief, as the barbarian armies reduced his well-advanced building operations to ruin.⁶³

The Saint soon overcame his grief and his obstacles. Within four years he was able to install his sister Caesaria as abbess of a new convent, this time safely within the city walls. The new building, a replica of the first and designed to effect a strict cloister,⁶⁴ was dedicated on August 26, 512.⁶⁵ It was placed under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, probably because he was held in great honor at Casarius' former monastic home of Lerins,⁶⁶ and perhaps also because the new convent was erected beside an old baptistery of Arles.⁶⁷

All the subsequent pictures of the joys and sorrows of the convent throughout the next hundred years depict a flourishing community life. Caesaria had spent a period of training before 512 at Cassian's convent in Marsailles, sent there by her brother "that she might learn what she must teach, and that she might be a pupil before being a teacher."⁶⁸ Although she began at Arles with only two or three companions, the community increased rapidly and is actually said to have numbered more than two hundred at the time

⁶² F. Benoit, "Topographie monastique d'Arles au VI^e siècle," *Études mérovingiennes: Actes des Journées de Poitiers*, 1^{er}-3 Mai, 1952 (Paris, 1953), 13-15.

⁶³ *Vita* I, 28, 307.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 35, 309-10.

⁶⁵ *Vita* II, 48, 344. See Appendix I for the explanation of the reckoning of this date from the information given in the *Vita* II.

⁶⁶ F. Masai, "Relazione Franceschini, *Il monachesimo nell' alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale*. Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, IV, Apr. 8-14, 1956 (Spoleto, 1957), 461.

⁶⁷ F. Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles et l'abbaye saint-Césaire," *Cahiers archéologiques*, V (1951), 39, 45-51.

⁶⁸ *Vita* I, 35, 310. This has been assumed to be the convent of the Holy Savior founded by Cassian for his sister: C. Lambot, "Le prototype des monastères cloîtres de femmes: L'abbaye s. Jean d'Arles," *Rev. lit. et mon.*, XXIII (1938), 171; de Planval, "Césaire," *DHGE*, XII, 213; Malnory, *op. cit.*, col. 213; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

of the Bishop's death thirty years later.⁶⁹ Within their first twelve years Casarius had made them secure from economic worries and from the fear of interference by his successors. In that same period he had erected for them a basilica adjoining their convent to serve as a burial place. It was no small gift, as contemporary admiration testified, having a central nave dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, side chapels to St. John the Baptist and St. Martin, and tombs for the nuns beneath the huge movable stones of the paved floor.⁷⁰ This Basilica of St. Mary was dedicated at the time of the Council of Arles in 524;⁷¹ shortly afterwards Caesaria, the first abbess, "going home to the rewards of Christ" was buried there.⁷²

The community continued to flourish under her successor, "Caesaria the Younger," winning the ever-increasing solicitude of their Founder in his last years. It was probably some time in this second abbess' term of office (ca. 525-559)⁷³ that he used the miraculous powers attributed to him to save his nuns and convent from a fire threatening them from a neighboring house.⁷⁴ It was to this abbess that he gave the revised form of the Rule in 534, and to her that he committed, at his death, the entire government of the monastery under the Rule. In his will and his dying words he seemed to reveal an especial personal affection and esteem for the "venerable Mother Caesaria."⁷⁵ If so, she found a way to repay him over and above the suffrages for his soul which he earnestly supplicated in the Rule. Shortly after his death she and her community commissioned the bishops Cyprian, Firminus, and Viventius, the priest Messianus, and the deacon Stephen to write the life of the spiritual father whom clergy and nuns had loved so well.⁷⁶ In so doing they played an important part in assuring his fame, not only as their Founder but as one of the truly great churchmen of the early Middle Ages; and in bequeathing to scholars what has come to be regarded as one of the most excellent

⁶⁹ *Vita*, II, 47, 344.

⁷⁰ *Vita* I, 57, 320.

⁷¹ *Concilium Arelatense IV*, 524, Iun. 6, ed. Morin, *Opera* II, 60-62.

⁷² *Vita* I, 58, 320.

⁷³ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 265.

⁷⁴ *Vita* II, 26, 336.

⁷⁵ *Testamentum sancti Caesarii, op. cit.*, 283, 289; also *Vita* II, 47, 344.

⁷⁶ "Prologus," *Vita* I, 296-97.

historical sources of Merovingian times."⁷⁷ The biographers quite understandably spoke of the community of St. John's in their account of Caesarius' achievements, and they particularly noted the capabilities and virtues of the Abbess Caesaria.⁷⁸ One feels that she was not undeserving of their praise if just for her good sense in commissioning the *Vita sancti Caesarii*.

It seems very probable that she was the author of a statute protecting the exclusive rights of Caesarius' nuns to burial in St. Mary's basilica. Dom Morin has found a fragment of such a document in a manuscript containing a portion of the nuns' Rule, and its contents leave no doubt that it was issued by one of the abbesses of St. John's. Its forthright tone and its sentiments reminiscent of St. Caesarius—that the community which was "one sheepfold in life" ought to be "in one place of burial"—make it very probable that it came from the pen of that Abbess who guided his convent at the height of its primitive fervor when the glow of the Founder's sanctity was still upon it.⁷⁹

The "chronicle" of the convent of St. John can be traced beyond the two Caesarias through the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century in a series of rather striking events. They serve to show that the convent had become recognized generally as an important ecclesiastical institution of southern Gaul; and that its rule had become known publicly as one of its notable features. There are three principal sources from which this history can be gleaned: Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*, Fortunatus' poems, and a biography of St. Rusticula,⁸⁰ who became

⁷⁷ See Morin's note (p. 204) in his edition of the *Vita, Opera* II, 294-345; Krusch also notes its excellence (p. 433) in his edition of the *Vita*, MGH, *SS. rer. merov.*, III (Hannover, 1896), 433-501; also S. Cavallin, *Litterarhistorische und textkritische Studien zur Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis* (Lund, 1934), pp. 3-35, *passim*; and R. Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie* (Paris, 1952), pp. 158, 301-302. Aigrain is mistaken in stating (pp. 301-302) that the *Vita* was written at the request of the Saint's sister, Caesaria. The *Vita* itself (I, 58) states that Caesarius' sister died before he died, and it (the *Vita*) is known to have been written after his death.

⁷⁸ *Vita* I, 58, 320.

⁷⁹ Morin has edited the *Statutum Abbatissae sancti Caesarii in Opera* II, 128-29; and has written briefly concerning it in "Problèmes," pp. 19-20.

⁸⁰ Florentii presbyteri Tricastinae *Vita sanctae Rusticulae, Acta sanctorum* IX Augusti (Paris, 1807), 657-64. Also ed. B. Krusch, *Vitae Rusti-*

abbess of St. John's (574-632), after Liliola (559-574), the successor of Caesaria the Younger.⁸¹ Over fifty years ago B. Krusch rejected the *Vita sanctae Rusticulae* as a source for Merovingian history, claiming that it was a Carolingian composition which drew on the *Vita sancti Caesarii* and other sixth- and seventh-century sources to make it appear authentic.⁸² Krusch's judgment was not universally accepted but no attempts were made to vindicate the authenticity of Rusticula's biography until 1954 when P. Riché presented a formidable array of arguments in its favor. They are sufficiently strong to recommend its usefulness in giving at least probable facts by which to continue the history of the convent where Gregory and Fortunatus leave off.⁸³

Gregory tells how the Queen-Foundress Radegund came to lend the fame of her name to Caesarius' convent. He relates that soon after the memorable occasion in 567 when Radegund's monastery received its relics of the True Cross, the Foundress, and Agnes, the abbess whom she had appointed, went to Arles to obtain a copy of Caesarius' rule.⁸⁴ In this connection Gregory cites the high praise of contemporary bishops for the Rule, particularly its strict cloister regulations.⁸⁵ He also cites the equally interesting comments of Radegund herself on what she considered to be the important features of the rule:

... the rule according to which the Holy Caesaria lived, and which the care of the Blessed Caesarius, bishop of Arles, had compiled to suit her needs from the institutions of the holy Fathers.⁸⁶

Apparently even in Radegund's time the rule was noted for its *culac sive Marciae abbatissae Arelatensis*, MGH, *SS. rer. merov.*, IV (Hannover, 1902), 337-51.

⁸¹ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 265-66, lists these abbesses, and the probable dates scholars have assigned for them.

⁸² Krusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-39 and notes pp. 339-51, *passim*.

⁸³ P. Riché, "La *Vita s. Rusticulae*: Note d'hagiographie mérovingienne," *Analecta bollandiana* LXXII (1954), 369-77. Riché notes (pp. 369-70), those who rejected Krusch's judgment; he presents his own arguments for the *Vita*, pp. 370-77.

⁸⁴ Gregorii Turonensis, *op. cit.*, IX, 40, 397.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 39, 395.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 42, 401. [Italics mine].

express adaptation to women, and for its transmission of the monastic teaching of the Fathers. Fortunatus does not add any direct factual information to that given by Gregory but he does much to emphasize the fame attached to Caesarius and his rule. He celebrated in verse anything associated with Radegund and thus he found several niches in his poetic hall of fame for the Rule,⁸⁷ Caesarius,⁸⁸ the two Caesarias,⁸⁹ and Liliola,⁹⁰ the abbess of St. John at the time of Radegund's visit.

Liliola is an important character in the opening scenes of the highly dramatic *Vita sanctae Rusticulae*: God revealed to this abbess the fact that a young child Rusticula of Vaison had been seized by a noble, Cheraonius, and was being raised by his mother that he might make her his wife when she was grown. Liliola understood that God desired Rusticula to be a nun at St. John's, where, indeed, her mother had seen her in a vision when she was still an infant. With the help of Bishop Syagrius of Autun, the abbess managed to obtain the child from Cheraonius.⁹¹ Raised in the convent, Rusticula had so proved her virtue and her abilities by the time she was eighteen, that on the occasion of Liliola's death, "it seemed to all the holy congregation that they should elect Rusticula, beloved of God, as their mother."⁹² Much of her biography consists of a eulogy of her virtues.⁹³ While it is too much in accord with the hagiographical conventions of the time, particularly in its use of superlatives, to reveal much of the real character of Rusticula, it serves to show that the high ideal of Caesarius' Rule was still, in the hundred years after his death, the pattern of life esteemed by his nuns.

Rusticula's biographer relates an unusual event in her life which Krusch was especially inclined to suspect. According to the *Vita*, the holy abbess was summoned before Clothar II on the false charge of having given asylum to one of his rivals; and was only restored to her monastery after the king had seen the greatness of her

⁸⁷ Fortunati *op. cit.*, *Carmen* V, ii, 67-68; *Carmen* VIII, i, 60; iii, 48.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, *Carmen* V, ii, 67-71; iii, 36-39.

⁸⁹ For the elder Caesaria see, *ibid.*, *Carmen* VIII, iii, 39-40; for the younger Caesaria see: *ibid.*, 81-85; for the two Caesarias see: "Appendix carminum," XIII, 283.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Carmen* VIII, iii, 43.

⁹¹ Florentii *op. cit.*, i, 658-59.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 659.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, i-6, 657-64 *passim*.

virtue and her power of working miracles.⁹⁴ Despite the similarity of this incident to events in the life of Caesarius⁹⁵ (Krusch's reason for rejecting it) Riché presents good arguments to support it.⁹⁶ If it can be accepted, then there seems no reason to doubt another event similar to those in the biography of Caesarius—that Rusticula built two new churches at Arles, one of them an elaborate structure with seven altars, and another simpler one apparently used by the nuns for prayer.⁹⁷ It is clear, however, that Rusticula was buried in the old Church of St. Mary where the nuns had been buried since the days of Caesarius.⁹⁸

Rusticula's biographer records that he wrote at the request of her successor Celsa⁹⁹ (abbess, 632-?), but after this brief note the chronicle of the convent beyond Rusticula's time becomes difficult to trace.¹⁰⁰ Although the convent survived as a monastery for more than twelve centuries—(until the French Revolution), and in its later days even under the patronage of Caesarius himself¹⁰¹—its history after the seventh century reflects little of the direct influence of the Saint and his Rule. His nuns seem to have adopted the Benedictine rule before the time of Louis the Pious,¹⁰² and from the seventh century the renown of their convent yielded to the new monastic centers rising under the influence of St. Benedict and St. Columban.¹⁰³

Archaeological studies dealing with the convent of Caesarius and its environs help to supplement the details already given of the setting in which the Rule was practiced. They give something of the location of the convent, as well as a few points on its structure; and they add information on, though they do not solve, certain problematic texts of the Rule regarding the doors of the convent and its basilica. According to Ferdinand Benoit, an archaeologist who has made extensive studies on ancient Arles, the city had, in the sixth century, a "Christian quarter" which had been developing after the pattern of Rome's Christian quarter throughout the fourth and fifth centuries. Very fittingly this section replaced the sites

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 661-62.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Riché, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-75.

⁹⁷ Florentii *op. cit.*, i, 659.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, 604.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, "Praefatio," p. 657.

¹⁰⁰ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 205.

¹⁰¹ Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

¹⁰² Lambot, "Le prototype," p. 172.

¹⁰³ Riché, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-77.

tower during the last twenty-five years Benoit found that the postern gate at the base of the *Tour des Mourgues*, Caesarius' "*turris iuxta pomerium*," had been walled up at the time of the late Empire.¹⁰⁸ The Rule also states that the door "in *veteri baptisterio*" had been walled up.¹⁰⁹ Benoit discovered, in the north section of the area of the Asile, the remains of a baptistery, older than the sixth century, so that it would have been "the old baptistery" to St. Caesarius and the nuns.¹¹⁰ The archaeologist also found the remnants of a very ancient cellar under the Asile. He believes this to be the cellar mentioned by Caesarius' biographer as the place of refuge the nuns sought when threatened by the fire.¹¹¹ The story of the fire would also seem to indicate the proximity of the convent to the city walls, as the Saint came to them immediately from his home "*per murum*."¹¹² Thus it seems that evidence from many quarters fits together to locate the convent of St. John where the Asile de Saint Césaire stands today adjoining the south-east corner of the ancient city walls.

Both archaeological and literary evidence show that, besides walls, tower and baptistery, there were probably two churches in the immediate vicinity of St. John's. Since archaeologists differ both in the identification of remains which they have found and the interpretation of texts, it seems best to present briefly first the information from the texts of Rule, the *Vita*, and the Council of Arles, before mentioning the conjectures of scholars as to the churches connected with the convent. The Rule speaks insistently though not always with perfect clarity, of a basilica adjoining the convent and of a door between the two buildings:

cette terrasse plutôt que le *pomoerium*, au sens classique du mot, c'est-à-dire le boulevard extérieure de l'enceinte." The "plan of 1775" referred to above is a diagram of the Abbaye Saint-Césaire made in that year, and now found in the *Repertoire général des Directes*; *Arch. des Bouches-du-Rhône, II. Saint-Césaire, 66 bis, fol. 1 v°*; *copie Bibl. d'Arles*, ms 730. Benoit has reproduced the map on p. 35 of his study.

¹⁰⁸ Benoit, "La topographie monastique d'Arles . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 16; see also references in n. 105 *supra*.

¹⁰⁹ *Reg. virg.*, 73, 26.

¹¹⁰ Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 40-49.

¹¹¹ Benoit, "Topographie monastique d'Arles . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹¹² *Vita* II, 20, 336.

of the ancient pagan temples and was on the highest elevation of the city at the extreme south-east angle of its walls. Here, every evidence seems to indicate, St. Caesarius built his convent in 512, adjoining the city walls and their corner tower overlooking the countryside below.¹⁰⁴ Substantial portions of these walls and even portions of this tower and its postern gate are visible today in Arles. The tower has been known for centuries as the "Tour des Mourgues" (i.e., *turris monacharum*), and, until the French Revolution, was flanked by the Abbaye de Saint Césaire. Tradition has always held that this abbey was on the very spot where originally Caesarius built his convent. It is replaced today by an Asile de Saint Césaire.¹⁰⁵

Tradition can be confirmed emphatically by archaeological findings especially when combined with literary evidence. In his Rule the Saint reminded the nuns that for the guarding of the monastery he had sealed up several doors on the convent property, among them the one "in turre iuxta pomerium."¹⁰⁶ (The *pomerium* apparently was the wall, or area left free from buildings on either side of the wall).¹⁰⁷ In his excavations around the Asile and

¹⁰⁴ Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles . . ." *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39; "La topographie monastique d'Arles . . ." *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47 and p. 16; also F. Benoit, "La Tour des Mourgues," *Revue des études anciennes*, XXXVI (1943), 208-207; F. Benoit, "La Tour gallo-romaine de l'enceinte d'Arles et l'abbaye de saint-Césaire," *Gallia*, I, fasc. II (Paris, 1943), 279-82.

¹⁰⁶ *Reg. virg.*, 73, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Blaise and Souter accept "pomerium" in Caesarius *Reg. virg.* as the classical "pomoerium." A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens* (Strasbourg, 1954), p. 663:

"I pomerium, -ii, n. p. pomoerium, mur: Caes. Arel. *Reg. virg.* 73

II pomerium, -i, n. p. pomarium, verger [= orchard]: Vit. Trudon, 14; *Rev. microv.* IV, p. 578, 15.

pomoerium, -ii, n. (cl.)-pl. murs, remparts: Greg. M., *Dial.* 3, 33." A. Souter: *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), p. 308. "pomerium, wall(?) (Caes. Arel. *Reg. virg.* 73."

Beck (*op. cit.*, p. 365, n. 10) follows Blaise and Souter. Benoit, however, ("Le première baptistère d'Arles, *op. cit.*, p. 46) takes *pomerium* as "pomoerium," or "orchard." His note is as follows: n. 5 "La terrasse de l'abbessee dominait le rempart est, d'après le plan de 1776. La règle désigne

The door:

2, 6 . . . usque ad mortem suam d[e] monasterio non egrediatur, nec in basilicam, ubi ostium esse videtur.
 50, 18 . . . ut nulla ex vobis usque ad mortem suam de monasterio egredi, vel in ipsam basilicam, in qua ianuam habetis . . . permittatur . . .
 59, 20 . . . Ianna monasterii nunquam extra basilicam . . . cum vestro permissio fiat, et vespertinis et nocturnis ac meridianis horis nunquam pateat. . . .¹¹²

The basilica:

45, 17 Si vero aliqua ornamenta . . . monasterio conlata fuerint . . . sanctae Mariae basilicae, si necesse fuerit, deputentur.
 70, 25 . . . cum aliqua de sororibus defuncta fuerit, sancto episcopo in notitiam deponatur, ut ipse eam usque ad basilicam, ubi ponenda est . . . deducat, et clerici de sancta Maria.

The documents of the Council of Arles, 524, state explicitly that St. Mary's Basilica was dedicated at the time of the convoking of the council.¹¹⁴ The *Vita sancti Caesarii* relates that it was built not too long before the death of the Saint's sister, the Abbess Caesaria, who was buried there. Since the texts seem to indicate that she ruled for a number of years after 512, it seems probable that this basilica adjoining the convent was built shortly before 524.¹¹⁵ The *Vita* indicates that there was another church flanking the convent, one already standing in 512, for the convent is described as built "*in latere ecclesiae*."¹¹⁶

Jean Hubert identifies this *ecclesia*, beside which the convent was built, as the cathedral church of Arles, St. Stephen's.¹¹⁷ He

¹¹⁴ Two other passages in the Rule speak of a door of the monastery, but apparently not the one leading into the basilica, referred to above. The other door is indicated as follows:

38, 14. Observandum est etiam, ut ianna monasterii opportunis horis salutatibus patent.
 42, 15. Hoc etiam moneo, ut propter nimiam inquietudinem ad iannum monasterii cotidiane vel assidue elemosinae non fiant; . . .

¹¹⁵ *Concilium Arelatense* IV, 524, *Opera* II, 60.

¹¹⁶ *Vita* I, 57-58; 320.

¹¹⁷ *Vita* I, 35, 310.

¹¹⁸ J. Hubert, "La topographie religieuse d'Arles au VI^e siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* II (1947), 19-23.

believes, as the texts seem to indicate, that the Basilica of St. Mary's was built a decade or so after 512 in close proximity to both convent and cathedral. Hubert has studied at some length the history of "double cathedrals," and sees nothing amiss in the evidence which points to two important churches bordering one another in the south-east corner of ancient Arles.¹¹⁸ He has found the phenomenon to exist in cities of both the Christian East and West well before and after the sixth century, noting that often, as in the case of Arles, one of the Churches was dedicated to Our Lady.¹¹⁹

Benoit has uncovered, in the area of the convent, the remains of an apse of an ancient church or chapel which could have been a part either of St. Mary's or St. Stephen's.¹²⁰ He has an original theory in which he maintains that Caesarius built St. Mary's so as to incorporate St. Stephen's into its structure. He believes that the latter was no longer the cathedral in Caesarius' time and that it had been transferred to the present site of St. Trophime during the episcopate of Hilary (449).¹²¹ His theory is not the most obvious explanation of the texts, nor does it accord with points generally accepted by scholars concerning the history of Caesarius and the convent. The texts seem to speak of two churches, and of one of them as an "*ecclesia*,"¹²² designating, at that period, "cathedral;"¹²³ and not as Benoit must suppose it can mean, "a former cathedral." The texts say that Caesarius built a basilica,

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24-27.

¹¹⁹ J. Hubert, *L'art pré-roman* (Paris, 1938), 39-42; and especially J. Hubert, "Les 'cathédrales doubles' et l'histoire de la liturgie," *Atti del primo congresso internazionale di studi Longobardi*, Spoleto, Sept. 1951 (Spoleto, 1952), 167-176. See also T. K. Kempf, "Ecclesia cathedralis eo quod ex duabus ecclesiis perficitur," *Arte del Prima Millennaria. Atti del I^o Convegno per lo studio dell'Arte dell'Alto Medioevo tenuto presso l'Università de Pavia nel Settembre 1950* (Turin, 1952), 3-10. Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-68, agrees with Hubert's theory on the two churches next to the convent, and cites earlier studies on the "double cathedrals" of France.
¹²⁰ Benoit, "Topographie monastique d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 16; also Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles," *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42, 53; also Benoit, "Topographie monastique d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹²² *Vita* I, 35, 310; 57, 320.

¹²³ Hubert, "Topographie religieuse d'Arles," *op. cit.*, pp. 19-23.

not that he added to and rebuilt a former cathedral.¹²⁴ As has been noted, texts seem to indicate that this basilica was built shortly before 524, while Benoit states that it was built in 512 at the same time as the convent.¹²⁵ Morin and Lambot conjecture that the younger Caesaria was probably the author of the statute protecting the burial rights of the nuns in St. Mary's, whereas Benoit attributes it to the older Caesaria, finding this attribution useful to support his theory that St. Mary's incorporated into its structure the already existing church by the side of the convent.¹²⁶ Hubert's theory, supported by Beck, seems preferable to Benoit's because it is more in accord with evidence from the sources and from scholarly studies.

Malnory, followed by more recent scholars, had conjectured that, since St. Mary's was a burial basilica, it must have been built outside the city walls of Arles, at Aliscamps. Hence the convent of 512 to which St. Mary's was attached would have been built at Aliscamps as had been the convent of 507.¹²⁷ Against this theory, and in support of the most obvious interpretation of the texts and archaeological remains, Benoit and Beck have marshalled evidence to prove that burial within a city was not at all uncommon in sixth-century Gaul.¹²⁸

One would wish that scholars had found evidence to determine surely that the texts of chapters 2 and 50 of the Rule meant that the nuns might go into the basilica.¹²⁹ Chapter 59 implies that they did for the celebration of at least parts of the Divine Office, but Chapters 2 and 50 can be translated more easily as a prohibition against entering. Two possible translations are given for these two chapters,¹³⁰ as other texts of the Rule imply that the nuns

¹²⁴ *Vita* I, 57, 320.

¹²⁵ Benoit, "Topographie monastique d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹²⁶ Morin, "Problèmes," *op. cit.*, p. 19; Lambot, "Césaire," *op. cit.*, col. 205; Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹²⁷ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-60; Lambot, "Césaire," *op. cit.*, col. 205;

"Le prototype," p. 171; Morin, *Opera* II, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹²⁸ Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles," *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

¹²⁹ Benoit ("Le premier baptistère d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 44) assumes that they did.

¹³⁰ See pp. 171, 189 f. of the Translation. Lambot, "Césaire," col. 269, says they did not enter the Basilica.

did enter St. Mary's. Wherever the chanting of the Divine Office took place, the Rule shows that it was the predominant occupation of the nuns. It may have been celebrated, however, entirely within the convent walls, since regulations show that the convent contained an oratory. Mass was said there sometimes, bishops or abbots were permitted the great exception of visiting it, and its furnishings were to be extremely poor and simple.¹³¹ There is only one mention of the oratory in connection with Divine Office, and its meaning is not clear. It may refer to a part of the Office recited in something like a vestibule of the oratory, or it may refer to some kind of an "outer oratory," or even (though unlikely) the basilica:

69, 24 In sollemnitatibus vero ipsis, impletis matutinis, et hymnum dicant "Te deum laudamus." In exteriore oratorio procedendum est, et dicendum est directaneus parvulus . . . Ad vesperum simili modo in exteriore oratorio directaneus parvulus dicatur, et antiphonae tres . . .

The *Vita sancti Caesarii*, summing up life at St. John's under Caesaria the Younger, confirms the impression given by the Rule that much of the time of the nuns was spent in prayer. It also tells of an occupation of the nuns for which the rule did not provide:

. . . the mother Caesaria, whose work with her community so flourished, that amidst psalmody and fastings, vigils and readings, the virgins of Christ lettered most beautifully the divine books, having the mother herself as teacher.¹³²

Some idea of the interior arrangements of the convent can be gained from the activities of the nuns and places mentioned in the Rule. There may have been a scriptorium or at least some kind of a schoolroom in the convent, for Caesarius had prescribed that "all should learn to read."¹³³ Storerooms were mentioned directly;¹³⁴ a kitchen and refectory were implied by the commands that the nuns take turns at cooking and "every ministration to bodily needs,"¹³⁵ and that there be reading during community meals.¹³⁶ The old and sick were allowed their own storerooms and kitchen,

¹³¹ *Reg. virg.*, 36, 14; 38, 14; 45, 16.

¹³² *Vita* I, 58, 320.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 14, 8.

¹³⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 18, 8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 18, 8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, 12.

and sleeping quarters separate from the community.¹³⁷ Apparently the nuns slept in a large common dormitory, with some kind of division for the sleeping compartment of each nun.¹³⁸ The *textrinum* or weaving room of the convent was an important part of the establishment, for here was made all the clothing of the convent, and here every nun performed a daily share of the wool work.¹³⁹ Caesarius mentions having had its door and that of the community dormitory, the *scola*, walled up.¹⁴⁰ Probably this was as much for protection against marauders from without as to guard the cloister within. For all the strictness of this cloister, visitors were sometimes permitted to the convent and were received in the *salutatorium*.¹⁴¹

Oratory, kitchen, refectory, storerooms, infirmary, dormitory, weaving room, parlor, and possibly a scriptorium, probably filled most of the needs of the simple round of life at St. John's. Whatever the arrangement of the rooms, all were assuredly most austere in appearance. There were to be no pictures, ornaments, wall decorations, nor tapestries of any kind throughout the convent, nor any kind of decorated bed coverings. Silver might be used only in the oratory, and even here the only ornamentations allowed were black or white crosses worked on linen.¹⁴² By austerity within and by strong walls without Caesarius' convent provided a setting wherein the ideal of his rule might be lived.

A wealthy, cosmopolitan, and proud city stretched beyond the walls of St. John's to the banks of the Rhone. It was one of the great trading centers linking Gaul with Rome. Fifth-century sources tell of the luxuries that poured into Arles from Arabia, Assyria, Africa, and Spain and then out over Gaul.¹⁴³ With good reason Caesarius had to warn and reiterate his warnings against

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32, 12; 9, 7.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4, 6; 9, 7. Caesarius' term was *scola*. See n. 4 on p. 171 of the Translation for various interpretations of the term.

¹³⁹ *Reg. virg.*, 27, 11; 16, 8.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 73, 26.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 38, 14.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 44-45, 16-17.

¹⁴³ F. Benoît, *Avignon, Arles, Les Baux* (Paris, 1954), pp. 49-51; A. Doppe, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (London, 1937), 343-44.

the use in the convent of tapestries, and silks, and worldly ornaments of all kinds which were so readily at hand to the nuns of Arles. Foreign commerce brought its trading people from all parts of the world so that Greeks and Syrians mingled with the old Gallo-Romans and Romanized Goths of the city.¹⁴⁴ By Caesarius' time the "new barbarians," the Franks and their allies, were crowding into the city to produce the truly cosmopolitan population reflected in Bishop Caesarius' sermons.¹⁴⁵ Doubtless most of his nuns came from this heterogeneous group and it is no small tribute to him and his abbesses that they could forge a stable community life from such a mixture of peoples.

Through all the fluctuations of trade and population the social and political life of the Empire subsisted in Arles into the sixth century. A century before it had been made the seat of the Prefecture of Gaul when Treves had yielded to barbarian pressures. With its arena, its theater, its circus, its forum, and its baths, it had been able to provide the setting for its portion of the drama of the Empire.¹⁴⁶ Now there was a new kingdom, "not of this world," replacing the old, and absorbing its energies, and in this Caesarius was a builder.¹⁴⁷ The convent was for him and for the Christians of Arles as important a symbol of the perfection and completion of their Christian society as had been the temples, the theaters, the ramparts of the pagans. It was, to judge from contemporary references, the first convent Arles had ever seen and it apparently excited some admiration. Caesarius' biographers note that he built it to "adorn" and "fortify" the Church of Arles.¹⁴⁸ Even down to the present day it is remembered, with the imposing pagan monuments, as one of the symbols of the city's past greatness.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ L. Bréhier, "Les colonies d'orientaux en occident au commencement du moyen âge," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XII (1903), 1-39.

¹⁴⁵ Morin, "The Homilies of St. Caesarius of Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 482.

¹⁴⁶ Benoît, *Avignon, Arles, Les Baux*, pp. 51-54; L. Royer, "Arles," *DHG*, IV (1930), 232-33.

¹⁴⁷ Royer, *op. cit.*, col. 235.

¹⁴⁸ *Vita I*, "Prologus," 296-97; chap. 35, 310.

¹⁴⁹ Benoît, *Avignon, Arles, Les Baux*, pp. 49-50.

The Status of Convent Life in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

Works such as Caesarius' monastic endeavors grow not only within a physical setting of convent and city but also within the very provocative setting of the world of ideas and customs in which they are placed. It will be well to conclude this chapter with a few notions on the trends of monastic development particularly in Gaul when St. Caesarius put his hand to it, for they both influenced his work and were influenced by it. Professor Courtois has recently provided a convenient summary of the evolution of monasticism in Gaul up to the seventh century, utilizing the best of past studies, confirming in particular the work of Dom Besse and adding the results of his own further study of source materials.¹⁵⁰

It should first of all be understood that St. Caesarius' labors came more than a century after monasteries for women had begun to appear in the West and almost two centuries after they rose in the East. He should not be regarded as the founder of monasticism for women, not even for women in Gaul, despite all that may be said in this study concerning his innovations in that sphere. Cenobitic life for women began, as it did for men, in the deserts of Egypt early in the fourth century and soon spread to Asia Minor under Basil, to Palestine and Rome under Jerome, and, near the end of the century, to Gaul under Martin. At the beginning of the fifth century, at the time when Augustine was fostering convent life in Africa, Cassian founded, probably for his sister, at Marseilles, the convent of the Holy Savior.¹⁵¹ Not much evidence has survived to trace the development of convent life throughout the next turbu-

lent hundred years¹⁵² but Courvois maintains that throughout the century monasteries for women continued to appear "with relative frequency."¹⁵³ This immature but growing cenobitism gradually began to supersede the earlier form of religious life for women—that of consecrated virginity in the world. Virginity had been practiced since the beginning of Christianity and was known to Caesarius as bishop in Arles,¹⁵⁴ but it admitted of an increasing number of disorders, when, after the Peace of the Church, the Christian community gradually merged with the general community of the Empire and lost the moral protection of its former "separated" status. Caesarius became bishop, then, at just that crucial point in the development of religious life for women in the West when cenobitism showed great promise for the future but needed perfecting as an institution if it were to prevail.¹⁵⁵

Courtois has demonstrated that, despite continued barbarian warfare the fifth century closed and the sixth century was ushered in with a great upsurge of monasticism in Gaul which gained momentum throughout the century.¹⁵⁶ He believes that the impetus came largely from the efforts of Honoratus of Lerins and Cassian of Marseilles to promote community life under a written rule, and from Cassian's efforts to foster urban monasticism, both of which tendencies were an advance over the more individualistic way of life of Martin's disciples in their wilderness huts.¹⁵⁷ His study shows that the Gaul of Caesarius' day was heir to fruitful lines of monastic development¹⁵⁸ and was as a consequence witnessing a

¹⁵⁰ C. Courtois, "L'évolution du monachisme en Gaule de St. Martin à St. Colomban," *Il Monachismo nell' alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo*, IV, Apr. 8-14, 1956 (Spoleto, 1957), 47-72.

¹⁵¹ A recent brief summary of monasticism for women, from the fourth to the sixth century is found in P. Schmitz, *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, VII (Maredsous, 1956), 4-9. A survey of the beginnings of the whole monastic movement is found in P. de Labriolle, "Les débuts de monachisme," *Histoire de l'église III* (ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, Paris, 1936), 299-369. The following studies of H. Leclercq are helpful: "Nonne," *DACL*, XII, part ii (1935), 1558-1615; "Cenobitisme," *DACL*, II, part ii (1925), 3047-48.

¹⁵² Gennadii *De viris illustribus*, 62 (ed. E. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althechristlichen Literatur*, XIV, part i), 82.

¹⁵³ Courtois, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 50. The work of J. M. Besse, O. S. B., to which Courtois refers (pp. 48-49) is *Les moines de l'ancienne France (période gallo-romaine et mérovingienne)*, Vol. II of *Archives de la France monastique*, Paris, 1906.

¹⁵⁴ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

¹⁵⁵ A. Duval, O. P., "Historical Outline of the Development of the Religious Life among Women," *The Direction of Nuns*, Trans. L. C. Sheppard (Westminster, Md., 1957), 13-20.

¹⁵⁶ Courtois, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-54. Also A. C. Cooper-Marsdin, *A History of the Island of Lérins* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Courtois, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61.

"veritable epidemic of vocations."¹⁵⁹ It is in this whole setting that St. Caesarius' labors are best understood. He had the experience and the wisdom to discern what was best in monastic tendencies of his time, and to utilize them and the current general enthusiasm for monasticism, in order to develop a model convent in his diocese. Situated within the city, it lent itself to that close episcopal supervision and gained that protection from attack which were good features of urban monasticism especially for nuns. Directed by a disciple both of Lerins and of Cassian, it had from its beginnings a firm and detailed written rule. Building on the broad base of the achievement of the past in monasticism, as indeed he built on the past in all fields of ecclesiastical activity, St. Caesarius was able to perfect and crystallize many aspects of religious life for women, and even, in the case of his strict cloister and of adaptation of his rule to the needs of women, to create new lines of thought.

CHAPTER II

THE STATE OF THE TEXT

Evidence for the Authenticity and Integrity of Morin's Text

The Manuscripts

No one can doubt that the sixth-century Saint of Arles wrote a rule for nuns. The external evidence already cited of his biographers, and of Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus is incontrovertible witness to the fact.¹ One may well ask, however, if the text known today is the Rule of Caesarius substantially as he wrote it. A text ascribed to him appears in essentially the same form in manuscripts dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries and, stemming from these manuscripts, in printed editions from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.² As a part of his life's work of identifying and editing the writings of Caesarius, Dom Morin published in 1933 a critical edition of what he judged to be the authentic *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius,³ and it has been accepted as the basis of this study. This chapter will be devoted to showing that Morin's edition possesses substantial integrity. The results of his study of manuscripts and printed editions⁴ will be summarized in order to show which of the minor variations in the manuscript texts he judged to be corruptions; therefore, which manuscript and which printed edition before his he judged to be most faithful. A longer section of the chapter will show how the style, language, thought, and form of the Rule can be identified as those of Caesarius by what are known from his numerous other

¹ See pp. 9 and 17 f. *supra*.

² Morin, "Problèmes," pp. 5-19. Morin's detailed description of the manuscripts will be summarized in this chapter. On pp. 6-7 of his study he listed the printed editions of the Rule previous to his own. This list is given in Appendix II.

³ G. Morin, ed., *Caesarii sancti Regula sanctorum virginum*, Flor. Patris., XXXIV (Bonn, 1933).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-72.

⁴ Morin, "Problèmes," pp. 5-19.

works to be his distinguishing and unmistakable characteristics. Concluding points in the chapter will be Morin's conjectures as to a slightly better order in the text than even his best manuscript presents;⁵ and, finally, external evidence from various sources contemporaneous with Caesarius' Rule as to its contents.

It seems necessary and worthwhile at the present time to review thus comprehensively, if briefly, this weight of evidence that supports the authenticity and integrity of Morin's text of the *Rule for Nuns*. Scholars engaged at the present time in the study of the *Regula Magistri*, especially Vanderhoven, Masai, and Corbett, have demonstrated effectively that there is much to be clarified and corrected, and much still to be learned concerning the original state of monastic texts from the fifth to the seventh century.⁶ Their forthcoming studies may throw new light on earlier monastic sources which are excerpted in St. Caesarius' Rule.⁷ They may touch on the *Rule for Nuns*, since they are concerned with the text of the *Regula Magistri* in the same early ninth-century manuscript of the *Codez regularum* which contains what Morin considered to be the best text of the *Rule for Nuns*. In his research Morin utilized and reaffirmed the studies of Plenkens on the *Codez regularum*, as have Vanderhoven and Masai.⁸ The latter, however, have promised additions to the findings of Plenkens, at least as far as the *Regula Magistri* is concerned.⁹ Even if they shed some new light on the *Codez regularum* it does not seem that their studies will occasion significant changes in Morin's text of the *Rule for Nuns*, because it is established above all on the great weight of internal evidence which he was able to command as a result of a lifetime of study

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

⁶ See pp. 95 ff. and notes, *infra* where the problem of the *Regula Magistri* and the studies of these scholars are treated more fully.

⁷ H. Vanderhoven, F. Masai, and P. B. Corbett (eds.), *La Règle du maître. Edition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 and 12634 de Paris* [Brussels, 1953], have promised a companion volume, *Genèse de la Règle des Monastères*.

⁸ Vanderhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Morin, "Problèmes," pp. 6-8; both cite H. Plenkens, "Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1906), 70-84.

⁹ Vanderhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

of Caesarius and a consummate skill in the use of internal criticism.¹⁰ Unlike many other monastic texts, for example, those for St. Benedict and of the "Master," the style and content of the *Rule for Nuns* can be checked against numerous other works of its author.

In his study of manuscripts and printed editions of the Rule Morin showed first, that of the two manuscripts which might be judged to be complete and which are very similar—Munich 28118 (M) of the ninth century, and Berlin, P'hillipps 1696 (C) of the thirteenth century—C was inferior and yet had been used as the basis of all printed editions previous to his except that of Bollandus. He maintained that the principal flaws in C were the addition of a sort of appendix at the end of the Rule consisting of St. Benedict's two chapters 31 and 66; and the lack of the chapters found in M giving Caesarius' directions for Divine office (chaps. 66, 68, 69 and 70 of Morin's edition).¹¹

He was able to add a new and weighty piece to existing evidence to show that the Benedictine chapters were interpolated probably long after Caesarius wrote,¹² and not, as Dom Chapman held, added by St. Caesarius himself to the final form of the Rule.¹³ Morin utilized an eleventh-century manuscript, Tours, M. 617(T), previously ignored by editors of the Rule, despite some indications that

¹⁰ Morin's skill has won universal recognition and admiration; see the testimony of: C. Lambot, "La première édition critique des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Rev. Bén.*, XLIX (1937), 385-88; also B. Leeming, "The False Decretals, Faustus of Riez and the Pseudo-Eusebius," *Studia Patristica*, II (Vol. LXIV of Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur [Berlin, 1957]), 136-37. Morin's notes and indices throughout *Opera I* and *II* give some notion of his method and skill. He has published a number of learned studies demonstrating these; the principal ones used for this chapter are listed on p. 36, *infra*, n. 21.

¹¹ Morin, "Problèmes," 5-8, 15-18.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

¹³ J. Chapman, O. S. B., *Saint Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), pp. 76-78, 87. Chapman, on his own admission (pp. 76-77), had not seen the Tours Manuscript 617, but assumed it must contain the Benedictine chapters. Morin ("Problèmes," p. 7, n. 2) explicitly refuted Chapman after examining this manuscript. Chapman (p. 78) outlines the texts of the 2 mss. M and C to illustrate the differences in the printed editions based on them.

it could possibly have originated in the very convent of St. Caesarius at Arles. Although so mutilated that it contains only about the last half of the Rule (chap. 42 to the end), it does give what appears to be a very faithful copy of the original concluding sections of the Rule, containing no trace of the Benedictine chapters.¹⁴ At the very end of the Rule it supplies what M and C lack, a set of seven episcopal signatures affirming the final revision of the Rule in 534. M contains a set of bishops' signatures but they follow the Bull of Hormisdas appended to the Rule in this manuscript, and evidently they confirmed the Bull between 523 and 533 rather than the Rule in 534. Krusch, not having seen the signatures in T, mistakenly supposed that M's signatures were also meant to give assent to the final form of the Rule, and he doubted their authenticity because they included the name of a bishop deposed a year before the final confirmation of the Rule. T revealed Krusch's error by supplying the real signatures to the Rule.¹⁵ Morin noted that, in addition to its other merits, T consistently confirmed the readings of M rather than of C; and thus the latest editor of the *Rule for Nuns* was able to utilize in several ways a manuscript of hitherto unsuspected value.¹⁶

Dom Morin also examined another unused manuscript (Bamberg, Ed. II, ii, tenth century), in which portions of the Rule of Caesarius were combined with the Benedictine Rule for the use of a convent of nuns at Regensburg. He described this manuscript as abounding in "modifications, mutilations and interpolations," but indicated that he found it useful occasionally to supply a better reading than his three principal manuscripts gave.¹⁷ In connection with these

¹⁴ Morin, "Problèmes," pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9. The ms. of Tours contained a monogram at its conclusion which Morin identified (*Opera* II, 101) as that of the priest Teridius, nephew of Caesarius and probably at some time presbyter of the Basilica of St. Mary; Morin summarized his studies on the monogram in "Le prêtre arlésien Teridius, propagateur des règles de s. Césaire d'Arles," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXVII (1938), 257-63. He had at first identified the monogram as that of Caesarius himself (*Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris., XXXIV [1933], 17); later he thought that it contained the name of Deuterius, an unknown personage ("Le monogramme d'un Deuterius au bas in règle de saint Césaire," *Rev. bén.*, XLVI [1934], 411); finally he decided on the name Teridius.

¹⁷ Morin, "Problèmes," p. 9.

latter, it should be noted that, except for the differences indicated above, they give substantially the same text of the *Rule for Nuns*. The similarity of M, C, and T is in itself good evidence that they reproduce Caesarius' original text, for apparently no one manuscript depends on the other.

In 1949 Dom Castagna reported an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, kept in the Biblioteca del Clero di S. Alessandro in Colonna, containing also a *Regula puellarum* with excerpts from St. Caesarius' Rule as well as from several other early monastic authors. He makes no comment on any portions of this *Regula puellarum*, his chief concern being with the Benedictine text.¹⁸ Morin nowhere mentions this manuscript, though it is possible he may have seen it and found it of little or no significance. Of the four manuscripts which he described, only the ninth-century one, M, contains Caesarius' directions for Divine Office. He reasoned plausibly that after Carolingian times liturgical practices were so changed as to render this section of the Rule quite obsolete. In answer to Chevalier's and Blume's doubts as to the authenticity of the Ordo, Morin made a statement which sums up what he could well have said of the whole Rule: "If I did not fear to waste time, there would be nothing easier for me than to demonstrate that the style, as well as the contents of the paragraphs in question, betray from one end to another their Caesarian origin."¹⁹

The Style and Wording of the Rule

By 1932 when he made the statement above and even more so by 1942 when he had completed his edition of all Caesarius' extant works, Morin was universally recognized and acclaimed for his ability to identify them by the method of internal criticism.²⁰ In studies as early as 1893 and as late as 1938, and by his detailed indices to Caesarius' works, Morin had demonstrated that there were a great number of words, phrases, and expressions, and of

¹⁸ G. Castagna, O. S. B., "Un codice bergamasco della Regola di S. Benedetto," *Benedictina*, III (1949), 301-305.

¹⁹ Morin, "Problèmes," p. 16, *supra* and n. 1.

²⁰ Lambot, "La première édition critique des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles," *op. cit.*; also C. Lambot, "Les oeuvres complètes de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Rev. bén.*, LIV (1942), 151-52; and Leeming, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

thoughts, and ways of developing thoughts, so typical of Caesarius that they put an unmistakable stamp on his writings.²¹ It is impossible to miss this stamp on the text which Morin found in his manuscripts, especially M, and edited as Caesarius' Rule. When, in his brief study discussed in the preceding paragraphs, he took up the problem of M as Caesarius' text and its possible minor deviations from the original, he merely dealt with a few features of M which had been directly questioned by others or which he saw to be problematic. He rejected as interpolations the chapter headings found in M; but he upheld, as has been noted, the authenticity of the Ordo and signatures to the Bull, and of the Augustinian borrowings in the Rule. He also showed that certain chapters in M were probably out of place.²²

Morin was correct in saying that evidence for the similarity of style and thought of Caesarius' Rule with his other writings was so abundant that it would be a waste of time to detail it all. It will be very profitable, however, to give here a sample of the results obtainable from the scholar's method of internal criticism. This, applied to even one aspect of the rule—its typical phrases and expressions—gives a striking confirmation of its authenticity. On pp. 38-43 *infra* there is a list of words, phrases, and expressions from almost every chapter of the Rule (some recurring in several chapters) that are found very many times throughout St. Caesarius' two-hundred-thirty-eight sermons. No locution was selected for which there were not at least five citations in Morin's indices; for most locutions there are a great many more than five, and for many they are so numerous that Morin does not attempt to record them all, following them with such notes as *sacpius*, *sacpissime*, *et al.* *constanter*, etc.²³

²¹ G. Morin, "Mes principes et ma méthode pour la future édition de *s. Césaire*," *Rev. bén.*, X (1893), 62-77; "La critique dans une impasse: à propos du cas de l'ambrosiaster," *Rev. bén.*, XL (1928), 251-55; "Comment j'ai fait mon édition des œuvres de saint Césaire d'Arles," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie*, LVIII (1938), 224-32. In "La critique dans une impasse," p. 251, Morin noted that the critic who had learned to use internal criticism as he had, could recognize an author by means of his style, even under a false name, just as if he saw him walking on the street.

²² Morin, "Problèmes," pp. 11-16.

²³ "Index nominum et rerum," "Index verborum et locutionum," *Opera*

The procedure used here is modelled on one of the first studies Morin ever made in connection with his method when in 1893 he answered a challenge of Engelbrecht that he relied too much on internal evidence. He took a twenty-seven line passage entitled *Prologus sive humilis suggestio*, which he had identified for the first time as that of Caesarius, and showed that for twelve of its sentences and phrases he could find seventy-nine parallel usages in other authentic works of Caesarius. It is even possible to trace in the single work of the *Rule for Nuns* five of the twelve typical locutions of the *Prologus*. These are indicated in the list of locutions immediately following.²⁴

Locutions listed below are not given for chaps. 50-61 which merely recapitulate matter already covered in the Rule proper, nor for chaps. 66-71 (the Ordo) which Morin has assured us are typical of St. Caesarius. For the few chapters for which there are no very obvious traces of Caesarius' style other evidence is noted to establish their authenticity. Even the many passages of the Rule which Caesarius borrowed from other writers supply good evidence of his "editing hand," for he had an invariable habit of introducing, interpolating, and concluding excerpts with his own phrases or turns of thought.²⁵ Chapters depending on the *Rule of St. Augustine* are treated separately at the end of the listings, as they present problems and evidence which require discussion.

Reg. virg.

*Index nominum et rerum*²⁶ and
*Index verborum et locutionum*²⁷
(and other indices and notes of
Morin; citations from these last are
identified as such.)

II, 960-1035. See also the list of characteristic expressions from Caesarius' sermons which Bardsy gives: "La prédication," pp. 232-35.

²⁴ Morin, "Mes principes et ma méthode . . ." *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77; and list of locutions.

²⁵ See the pages of compared texts of the *Rule for Nuns* and its sources, pp. 130-33 *infra*; underlining indicates verbal parallels; and the words, phrases and sentences not underlined, the language, style, and thought peculiar to Caesarius.

²⁶ Morin, *Opera* I, part ii, 960-1003.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1004-35. Most of the citations are from this Index. Those from *Index nom. et rer.* or from other sources will be identified as such.

Ch. 1 deo inspirante
also chs. 4, 48, 49, 64
Qui nobis dominus pro sua
misericordia inspirare et adiu-
vare dignatus est
also chs. 47, 65: credo de dei
misericordia; 64: deus pro sua
misericordia
antiquorum patrum
also ch. 63; ch. 65: sanctorum
patrum.
secura conscientia
also ch. 62.
domini adventum
feliciter
also chs. 47, 63, 65
Ch. 2 Et quia
seniores
also chs. 4, 8, 30, 40, 42
3 venenum diaboli
4 see chs. 1, 2
5 omnibus impedimentis mundi
liberos fecerint
6 nec decet, nec licet, nec ex-
pedit
also chs. 9, 36
7 aut difficile, aut . . . num-
quam
also ch. 36
penitus non
also chs. 40, 41, 64
Ch. 8 see ch. 2
9 see ch. 6
10 omnino non
also ch. 26
11 praesumat
also chs. 13, 30, 73
12 opus dei
also ch. 15
13 see ch. 11

14 no obvious citation, but the
reference to the exemption
from manual labor of the
mater and *praeposita* con-
nect it with other passages
of the Rule: see e. g., chs. 27,
30, 35, 47, etc.
15 see ch. 12
16 cum grandi . . .
also chs. 42, 61, 63 (twice)
17-25 chs. with Augustinian ex-
cerpts
26 fragilitas humana diabolo
instigante
27 fideliter
28-29 chs. with Augustinian ex-
cerpts
30 ante omnia
also chs. 36, 42, 63
coram deo et angelis eius
also chs. 42, 47, 48
31-36 chs. with Augustinian bor-
rowings
36 see chs. 6, 7, 30
Chs. 37-40
no obvious citations, but the
content of these chs.—clois-
ter regulations—obviously
identifies them as part of the
Rule.
41 see ch. 7
42 contestor
also chs. 16, 30, 38, 43, 47, 62, 63,
64, 72
43 ch. with Augustinian bor-
rowings
44-45 no obvious citations but
the content and even the
wording of these chapters is
referred to in the letter
Vereor of Caesarius to the
nuns (*Opera* II, 140.)

1 entire column of citations for
the use of grandi . . .
3 citations in the study of 1893
(p. 73)

13 citations
36 citations in *Index nom. et ver.*
for diabolus; 23 citations for
diabolicus
locis innumeris

30 citations
5 citations

saepissime

46 no obvious citation but this chapter is summarized in ch. 51 of the Recapitulation; this latter contains many locutions of St. Caesarius and repeats matter of parts of the Rule shown to be authentic

47 ad aeternam beatitudinem possitis feliciter pervenire see also chs. 63, 65

48 deo propitio

cum deo adiutorio

also ch. 49 (3 times)

49 rogo et moneo

Christo auxiliante

antiquus hostis

fideliter ac feliciter (2 times)

also ch. 65

50-60: chs. of Recapitulation which repeat the content of chs. 1-47

61 see ch. 16

Ch. 62 paterna sollicitudine

iterum atque iterum

auxiliante domino

also chs. 64

63 see chs. 1, 16, 30, 42, 47

64 nec deus . . . patiat

also ch. 65

ante tribunal Christi

also ch. 72

65 see chs. 1, 47, 49, 64

cui est honor et imperium in

saccula saeculorum. Amen.

66-71 directions for Divine

Office and fasting

72 reddere rationem

medicina remissionis

73 see ch. 11

cloister regulations link this chapter to the Rule.

The foregoing list of parallels between the Rule and sermons of Caesarius is very strong evidence from the viewpoint of style for its authenticity, especially when one considers the stringent limits that the form and content of a rule put on an author's style. Although the parallels found among the phrases which Caesarius added to his Augustinian excerpts are not quite so numerous, they contain expressions so completely typical of Caesarius that it seems impossible to doubt he himself incorporated them into the Rule. Certain learned scholars did doubt, as Morin noted, that they were part of the original Rule²⁸ on the grounds that they introduced a contradiction into the Rule. One passage borrowed in great part from Augustine obliged candidates to give over their worldly possessions for the general needs of the community,²⁹ whereas an earlier section of the Rule not borrowed from Augustine indicated that they should dispose of them by deed, gift, or sale before entrance.³⁰ The Benedictine answered that these modern critics were exacting of an ancient author their own rigorous logic of expression which was simply not found in early monastic texts.³¹ One may add to Morin's terse reply the observation, that, whatever their differences, the obvious stress of both the Augustinian and non-Augustinian passages is identical—absolute renunciation of goods. No doubt this is what the nuns were to understand primarily by the two passages. Perhaps after the addition of the Augustinian chapter they were allowed to dispose of their goods in either fashion. As can be seen below there is only one brief typical touch of Caesarius in this chap. 21, but it is so obviously a part of a whole section borrowed by Caesarius from the *Rule of St. Augustine* that it would seem impossible to regard the one problematic sentence on renunciation of goods as an interpolation.³²

In order to show clearly the unmistakable signs of Caesarius' own editing of his Augustinian excerpts, that is, chaps. 17-25; 28-29; 31-35; and 43, they will be discussed here rather than merely outlined. It will be remembered that Caesarius' sermons contain innumerable references to the devil and that the non-Augustinian passages of

²⁸ Morin, "Problèmes," p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

³⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 21, 9.

³¹ Morin, "Problèmes," p. 13.

³² The pp. of compared texts, pp. 138-39 *infra*, shows the section of the *Rule of St. Augustine* from which this chap. was borrowed.

the Rule refer to him three times (chaps. 3, 26, 49). Chaps. 21, 23, 24, and 34 of the Augustinian sections have phrases referring to the devil inserted into the middle of the sentences of the *Rule of St. Augustine* in just the manner that Caesarius was wont to add phrases and expressions to the Augustinian borrowings in his sermons:

Reg. virg.

Ch. 21 si misera anima *diabolica* infletur superbia Ch. 6 cum anima misera superbior efficitur

22 Nulla in vobis concupiscentia oculorum cuiuscumque viri *diabolo instigante* consurgat; nec dicatis vos animos habere pudicos, . . . (this is the same phrase as in ch. 26.)

24 Quanto magis ergo *consilia diaboli et insidias illius* manifestare debetis . . .

34 Si autem, ut fieri solet, *stimulante diabolo*, invicem se laeserint, . . .

(There are 5 citations for "ut fieri solet" in *Index verborum et locutionum sermorum*, and many citations for "solere" in some form.)

In several chapters depending on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, Caesarius added references to persons cited in other parts of the Rule where authenticity is not questioned; the *provisor*, *posticaria*, *mater*; also *abbatissa*, *senior*, *formaria*, *primiceria*:

Reg. virg.

Ch. 23 Quando ergo simul statis, si aut *provisor* monasterii, aut aliquis cum eo virorum supervenerit, invicem vestram pudicitiam custodite. (see chs. 30, 39, 42.)

25 Quaecumque autem quod deus non patitur in tantum progressus fuerit malum, ut gressa fuerit malum, ut occulte ab aliqua litteras, . . .

²³ Ed. D. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1930), 318-26.

occulte ab aliquo litteras, . . . secundum statuta monasterii gravius emendetur . . . si aliqua transmittere voluerit eulogiam panis, *matri* suggerat; et si ipsa permiserit, per *posticarias* det, . . . (see chaps. 27, 30, 32, 35, 42, 43, 72.) (Morin notes *saepissime* for *deus non patitur*, see chap. 64.)

29 Nulla sibi aliquid proprium operetur nisi cui *abbatissa* praeceperit aut permiserit; sed omnia opera vestra in commune fiant. . . . (see chaps. 28, 29, 34, 38, 41, 42, 46, 59, 61, 64, 69.)

Ch. 31 Lavacra etiam, cuius infirmitas exposcit, minime denegetur; . . . ita ut, etiam si lavare nolit illa quae infirma est, iubente *seniore* fiat, quod opus fuerit pro salute. (see chaps. 4, 30, 41, 33, 42.)

35 Semper cogitantes deo se pro vobis reddituras esse rationem. Inde et vos magis sancte obediendo, non solum vestri, sed etiam ipsarum miseremini; quasi inter vos quanto in ordinatione superiores videntur, tanto in periculo maiori versantur. Pro qua re non solum *matri*, sed etiam praepositae, *primiceriae* vel formariae cum reverentia humiliter obcedite, (see chaps. 40, 42).

Parallelisms such as the foregoing might be multiplied many times. Only a few of the more striking need be quoted. St. Caesarius begins Chap. 43 with "ante omnia" for which there are six other citations in the Rule²⁴ and thirty-nine in the sermon

²⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 30, 11-12; 36, 14; 42, 15; 63, 21; 69, 24-25; 70, 25.

secundum arbitrium praepbyteri vel praepositi gravius emendetur.

12 . . . nullus sibi aliquid operetur, sed omnia opera vestra in commune fiant.

13 Lavacrum etiam corporum, cuius infirmitatis necessitas cogit minime denegetur, ita ut, etiam si nolit, iubente praeposito, faciat quod faciendum est pro salute.

15 Unde vos magis obediendo non solum vestri, sed etiam ipsius miseremini, quia inter vos quanto in loco superiore, tanto in periculis maiore versatur.

indices.³⁵ The same chapter also adds to the Augustinian wording a passage commencing with "contestor coram Deo et angelis eius" which is very frequent in Caesarius' sermons.³⁶ In Chap. 22 he adds to St. Augustine's admonition to pray with the heart as well as with the lips the words "de divinis scripturis semper aliquid ruminare." At least ten times in his sermons he urges his hearers to "ruminare" spiritually,³⁷ and in Sermon 69 he actually describes in detail how animals chew the cud and how this can be imitated in the spiritual order.³⁸ While not all the additions in the Augustinian passages can be so unquestionably assigned to Caesarius, and while a few chapters contains no obviously typical phrases, it would seem impossible to doubt, from the evidence indicated here, that the Bishop of Arles himself incorporated into his Rule its lengthy excerpts from the *Rule of St. Augustine*.

The reading of fifty or more of St. Caesarius' sermons by one who has read the Rule will provide better evidence for its authenticity as a whole than will further formal demonstrations of parallelisms here. In the following chapters where the content of the Rule is treated, there will be incidental but abundant evidence that the core of the spiritual teaching of the Rule is found equally in the Saint's sermons. In this chapter one more striking correspondence between the two will be treated, not only because it confirms further the authenticity of the Rule, but also because it helps to resolve another problem—its rambling, loosely organized character so deplored by scholars who have recognized its many other excellent features. This is certainly due in part to the long "trial period" (512-534) of composition and revision to which its author subjected it.³⁹ But it may also be due largely to the fact that Caesarius wrote the Rule in much the same way as he wrote his sermons. Its over-all structure and effect are very similar to many of his sermons, and much that has been written concerning his method of composing the sermons applies most aptly to the Rule.⁴⁰

³⁵ "Index verborum et locutionum," *Opera* I, part ii, 1005.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1008.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1029.

³⁸ *Sermo* XLIX, *Opera* I, part i, 281-82.

³⁹ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 267, 276.

⁴⁰ Bardy, "La prédication," pp. 201-36, has described the nature of the sermons and Caesarius' method in composing them.

The Rule commences with the same sort of personal and purposeful exordium that introduces most of the sermons.⁴¹ This is followed by excerpts from the Levins Fathers, especially Cassian, and even longer passages from Augustine.⁴² Many sermons follow this same pattern, incorporating passages, for instance, from Augustine and Ambrose; Augustine and Origen—Augustine obviously the preferred source as in the Rule. Very often the excerpts are interspersed with the author's own comments invariably in the sermons as in the Rule the concluding section is of the saint's own composition.⁴³ In a number of Sermons a portion of the concluding section takes the same form as in the Rule, that of a Recapitulation.⁴⁴

What Bardy has written of the form and style of Caesarius in his sermons applies equally well to the form and style of the Rule.

Assuredly, he is not a genius. He shines neither by brilliance of style, nor by the depth of his theological syntheses. He speaks, in all simplicity, the language of his times, both because he wishes to be understood and because he knows no other; with docility he applies himself to the school of the Fathers and above all to that of Augustine. . . .⁴⁵

His sole desire was to do good, and when he found in one or other of his predecessors some ideas or expressions capable of instructing and of edifying his flock, he did not hesitate to utilize them. . . .⁴⁶

The preaching of St. Caesarius presents in effect a double character apparently contradictory. It is on one side very personal and so marked with his own stamp that one can recognize the products at a single reading by the style, by the language, by the vivid and direct manner which he employs. . . . On the other side, this preaching borrows the greater part of its elements from previous homilies which it adapts to circumstances, which it abridges, which it mixes, which it utilizes in every way so well that it is possible in the majority of cases to determine with certitude the sources from which the author has borrowed; and even when one cannot succeed in making this identification, one can say with certainty that

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23, and Caesarius' sermons *passim*.

⁴² See Table showing the sources of the *Rule for Nuns*, pp. 127-29 *infra*.

⁴³ Bardy, "La prédication," pp. 221-24.

⁴⁴ Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 264 *supra* and n. 27.

⁴⁵ Bardy, "La prédication," p. 236.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

such a passage has been borrowed and that the original contribution of St. Caesarius commences at such and such a spot.⁴⁷

In regard to the somewhat disorganized character of the Rule Morin believed that the original text of Caesarius had a slightly better order than that found in any of the extant manuscripts, and he offered conjectures as to possible deviations. He rejected as spurious the chapter headings found in M, C, and B not only because they disagreed with one another and with their own texts, but also because of their position in the manuscripts. They were found between chaps. 1 (the Prologue) and 2 of the Rule, obviously meant to follow one another without interruption as the latter commenced with the *Et quia* by which Caesarius linked sentences in his sermons.⁴⁸ Morin proposed one other change for the Rule proper (chaps. 1-47): it probably once included the admonition now found in the Recapitulation (in chap. 52), that no door be added in the monastery. To support this idea he used the chapter headings found in two of the manuscripts to show that some regulation to this effect occurred near the end of the Rule proper in earlier manuscripts; he also reasoned plausibly that a point which was recapitulated must have had a previous mention in the Rule proper.⁴⁹

The last part of the Rule—chaps. 64 and 65, and chaps. 66-71 (Ordo and fasting directions), Morin felt, presented the most serious problems with regard to order, and he admitted he could only conjecture as to a correct reordering. Chap. 63, with the resounding content of a concluding paragraph and the same clausula which ends the Rule proper in chap. 47, is apparently the conclusion to the Recapitulation. Morin judged that both chaps. 64 and 65 were minor additions which Caesarius made to the Rule during his many years of revising. Chap. 64, referring to the "*infra scripta recapitulatione*"—"the Recapitulation written below"—was obviously misplaced by a scribe.⁵⁰ Its reference to the papal privileges of the nuns dates it after 523.⁵¹ Morin would place

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

⁴⁸ Morin, "Problèmes," p. 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; *Reg. virg.*, 64, 22.

⁵¹ *Reg. virg.*, 64, 22. See pp. 10 f. *supra*.

both chaps. 64 and 65 between the Rule proper and the Recapitulation as a sort of postscript to the former.⁵² He also believes that the Ordo and fasting directions must have belonged originally to the Rule proper, perhaps as a kind of appendix to it, as it now is to the Recapitulation. He would leave chaps. 72 and 73 where they are now at the very end of the Rule, as he believes that their content marks them as Caesarius' final words before putting his signature to the revised Rule.⁵³

The Content of Other Contemporary Rules

If no final word on the original order of St. Caesarius' text can be given to conclude this chapter, further strong bits of evidence can be added to verify the original content of large portions already confirmed by internal evidence. Nineteen chapters of the *Rule for Nuns* between chaps. 2 and 36, and five chapters of the Ordo bear an unmistakable and close similarity in content and even in wording to the Saint's own *Rule for Monks*,⁵⁴ unquestioned in its authenticity. The monks' rule, meanwhile, is found in an eighth- and a ninth-century manuscript quite independent of all manuscripts of the *Rule for Nuns*, even of the ninth century *Codez regularum* manuscript; and St. Benedict of Aniane does not even seem to have known of Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*.⁵⁵ Benedict of Aniane, then, could not have altered for his *Codez regularum* any of those portions of the *Rule for Nuns* which depend on the *Rule for Monks*. Chapter IV on the sources of the *Rule for Nuns* will illustrate in detail the evidence that the *Rule for Monks* gives for the authenticity of the *Rule for Nuns*. Chapter V on the influence of the *Rule for Nuns* will show that the rules which borrowed from it,

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁴ Caesarii *Regula monachorum*, Opera II, 149-54. See the texts of Caesarius' nuns' and monks' rule, compared on pp. 130-53, and the table showing the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns* on its sources, pp. 127-20 *infra*.

⁵⁵ Lambot, "Ossaire," cols. 262-63. Lambot cites Pleunkers, *op. cit.*, p. 9; he also indicates the two manuscripts which Morin gives in his edition of the *Reg. mon.*, Opera II, 149:

Cod. Pithocanus, Paris. lat. 1564, fol. 16 sq.: ninth century; and Bruxellensis 8780-93, Van den Gheynn. 2493, fol. 25^v sq.: eighth century.

especially the two rules of Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (546-55), and that of Donatus of Besançon (ca. 627-58) witness to the existence of many portions of its text in the sixth and seventh centuries.⁵⁶ Anyone who would argue that Benedict of Aniane had altered the text of the latter, would have to suppose further that he deliberately altered the text of Donatus and actually created the texts of Aurelian to make them appear dependent on Caesarius.

As will be shown later in detail, at least sixteen chapters of the *Rule for Nuns* are concerned with the establishment of a strict cloister.⁵⁷ Both Gregory of Tours⁵⁸ and Caesarius' biographers⁵⁹ note that cloister regulations are the distinguishing mark of the Rule of the Saint of Arles. Wherever one turns, evidence seems to confirm the authenticity and integrity of the *Rule for Nuns*. While current research on such texts as the *Regula Magistri* shows how much care must be taken to verify early monastic texts, it seems impossible to doubt that Caesarius composed his Rule in very much the same form as it appears in Morin's critical edition.

CHAPTER III

THE ANALYSIS OF THE RULE

Basic Ideas

A monastic rule is not always, taken by itself, the best means of revealing to the uninitiated reader the depth and breadth of the spiritual ideals of a founder. It must, to some extent appear cold, formal, and rather negative in its attitude to the spiritual life, and must concern itself with uninspiring minutiae. As the Rule of Caesarius does not even offer much in the way of mechanics of organization or literary devices to highlight its more fundamental and significant features, an attempt will be made in this chapter to present and analyze these features. The core of the Rule seems to be the Patristic concept of the consecrated virgin,¹ very briefly sketched by Caesarius it is true, but touched on at key points in the structure of the Rule, especially at the beginning and the conclusion, so that, when perceived, it appears as a sort of theme. Around this core Caesarius develops in far greater detail his special means for realizing the ideal of consecrated virginity—adaptation of cenobitic life to women chiefly through a strict cloister, economic self-sufficiency for the convent, a complete system of government under an absolutely binding rule, and a detailed program for the celebration of Divine Office.

Monastic historians such as Butler² and Mandonnet³ have adopted the expressive term "St. Benedict's idea," "St. Dominic's

¹ Convenient brief summaries of this concept as contained in the Fathers are found in O. Rousseau, "Virginity and Consecrated Chastity in the Greek Fathers," *Chastity* (trans. L. C. Sheppard, Westminster, Md., 1955), 39-50; and M. Olphe-Galliard, "Consecrated Virginity in the Latin West," also in *Chastity*, pp. 57-76. Caesarius' concept seems derived directly from that of Augustine in *De sancta virginitate* (ed. J. Zycha, CSEL, XLI [Vienna, 1900]), 232-302 *passim*.

² C. Butler, O. S. B., *Benedictine Monachism* (London, 1934).

³ P. Mandonnet, O. P., *Saint Dominique, l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre*, (2 vols., Paris, 1937).

⁵⁶ See p. 158 *infra*.

⁵⁷ See pp. 80-81 *infra*.

⁵⁸ Gregorii Turonensis, *op. cit.*, IX, 39, 395.

⁵⁹ *Vita* I, 35, 309-10.

idea," to sum up the whole complexus of the ideal and the means for its realization worked out by their respective founders. It is St. Caesarius' "idea" which will be traced in the following pages. Dom Lambot has already laid the solid foundations for all analyses of St. Caesarius' "idea,"⁴ treating in detail of one of its most significant aspects—its cloister regulations.⁵ Father Duval has more briefly analyzed other salient features such as economic organization;⁶ studies of these scholars and others will be summed up here. First, however, the "core," the notion of the nun as the consecrated virgin, will be viewed as it appears in the Rule. As the picture must be acquired by a sort of abstraction from occasional phrases and passages, it may be questioned whether such an abstraction is a valid presentation of Caesarius' own thought. Fortunately a very sure affirmative answer can be given by examining the Saint's letters to the nuns, his sermons to monks and even those to the people in general, and his biographers' account of his monastic endeavors. These writings all reveal a familiarity with just those basic notions on the Patristic concept of the religious woman which the Rule presents.

The monastic "idea" of Caesarius has a special pertinence for developments within the Church in the last decade. In the current movement for renewal and adaptation within the states of perfection the late Pope Pius XII and those associated with him stressed the need of a true understanding of "the origin and development of the sacred institution of nuns,"⁷ that is, of that process by which "from ancient times until the promulgation of the present Code of Canon Law, the Church . . . has gradually worked out with sure and unflinching steps . . . what pertains to the state of perfection."⁸ Caesarius' monastic labors and writings can serve

⁴ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 200-78.

⁵ Lambot, "Le prototype," pp. 169-174.

⁶ A. Duval, O. P., "Historical Outline of the Development of Religious Life among Women," pp. 17-20; and "The Economic Organization of Convents," pp. 83-86, in *The Direction of Nuns* (trans. L. C. Sheppard, Westminster, Md., 1957).

⁷ Pope Pius XII, *Sponsa Christi*, Apostolic Constitution issued Nov. 21, 1950. (Published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Jan. 10, 1951; trans. by the Daughters of St. Paul, New York, 1952), p. 24.

⁸ Pope Pius XII, *Provida Mater Ecclesia* (1947). Cited by R. Carpentier,

as an apt and detailed illustration of an important stage in the development of religious life for women as traced by the later Holy Father. He stressed the fact that when, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, a regular community life and strict cloister were developed for the consecrated virgins who had formerly lived in the world, the new teachings on their form of life were built upon the Patristic tradition of consecrated virginity.⁹ Caesarius' work illustrates this survival of the old traditions and the building of the new.

The Patristic Heritage of Consecrated Virginity

What then is the traditional nun as the rule of Caesarius pictures her? She is one consecrated to God,¹⁰ renouncing all but God,¹¹ thus one who adorns His Church and is esteemed and protected by it so that her whole life may be a direct preparation for Heaven.¹² As the soul dedicated to God—the *consecrated virgin*—she is the successor of all those women who since the days of the Apostles had been recognized as set apart for God in a very special way through the offering of their virginity. With his frequent reference to what is "fitting and proper" to her state, Caesarius shows his knowledge of the long-established tradition regarding the virgin.¹³ As one set apart she gives herself to unceasing prayer, chanting the Office through long hours of the day and night,¹⁴ and between the Hours nourishing her soul by silent meditation on the Scriptures.¹⁵

The figure which most perfectly expresses her state is for Caesarius, as for the Fathers before him, that of the wise virgin who with lamp burning waits for her Lord.¹⁶ To this traditional applica-

"Theology of the Religious Life: Common Life and the Vows," *The Direction of Nuns*, Westminster, Md., 1957.

⁹ Pius XII, *Sponsa Christi*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16.

¹⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 1, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5, 6; 11, 7; 49, 18; 63, 21; 65, 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 6, 7; 9, 7; 36, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66, 22-23; 68-70, 23-25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, 5; 18, 8; 20, 22, 9.

¹⁶ See, for example, the frequent usage of this figure of the Greek Fathers as summed up by Sr. M. Rosamund Nugent, O. S. F., *Portrait of the Consecrated Woman in Greek Christian Literature of the First Four Centuries*. Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, LXIV (Wash., D. C., 1941), 75-77.

tion he adds a new emphasis of his own: the oil for the lamp of his nun is specifically strict fidelity to the precise written rule he has given her. She need not, indeed she may not any longer map out for herself the details of the practice of virtue recommended for her state, for she has been given a sure guide-book.¹⁷

Like the wise virgin, unremitting in her fidelity, the nun has one all-encompassing purpose in her life—preparation for Heaven. This is, of course, the very theme which dominated and integrated all of the Saint's teachings and gave rise to his great esteem of and zeal for the monastic life. Just as in his preaching there is linked to almost every warning against sin, every exhortation to virtue, the thought of rewards or punishments to come,¹⁸ so in the Rule the recurring theme of the ever-present reality of eternal life introduces, links, and concludes all the varying notes of its contents. Its preface immediately extends to the faithful nun the promise that upon entering the kingdom with the holy and wise virgins she will be able to say: "We have found Him whom our soul has sought."¹⁹ In connection with the various offices she may have to discharge in the monastery she is reminded several times throughout the Rule that she will answer "before the tribunal of Christ" for her performance according to its prescriptions.²⁰ The Rule proper ends,²¹ and the Recapitulation begins²² with a note ever swelling with the glory to come until it reaches this climax at its conclusion: "... that you may come . . . in eternal beatitude to the fellowship of the angels and of all the saints, and that I may happily come to see you receive crowns of glory together with holy Mary and all the other virgins, and to see you follow the Heavenly

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1, 5; 47, 17; 48-49, 18; 62-65, 20-22. Nugent, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77, shows that for Origen the oil was piety; for Athanasius, good works; for Basil, virginity; for John Chrysostom, almsgiving; for Evagrius, charity and mercy. For Augustine the oil was humility: *De sancta virginitate*, xlii, 288.

¹⁸ See Beck, *op. cit.*, 271-75, for the predominance of this theme in the preaching of Caesarius.

¹⁹ *Reg. virg.*, 1, 5.

²⁰ The infirmarian: *Reg. virg.*, 42, 15; the portresses: 43, 15-16; the prioress and abbess: 64, 21-22.

²¹ *Reg. virg.*, 47, 17.

²² *Ibid.*, 48-49, 18.

Lamb."²³ Upon these favored ones Caesarius enjoins no less earnestly the task of securing by their prayers his own place in the heavenly home to which he looked forward so eagerly.²⁴

For the nun the urgency to prepare for life eternal with God becomes the urgency to renounce all that might attach her in any way to this life,²⁵ and to spurn completely His ever-active arch-enemy the devil.²⁶ Above all, she must persevere to the end in renunciation,²⁷ and, to sustain her efforts, Caesarius is careful to remind her throughout the Rule that she has the never-failing assistance of God.²⁸ The monastery is a haven, a "sheepfold" wherein she has been called. By her calling and by her own response of renunciation the consecrated virgin has become a precious gem of the Church which she adorns and sustains by the offering of her life.²⁹

If the picture given above is strikingly in accord with the tradition of the nun as it developed in the Patristic Period and as it has been restated by Pius XII in our day, it will be even more evident how firm and deep was Caesarius' grasp of this tradition when it is seen to recur frequently in his other writings and in his biographers' summation of his monastic ideas. His two letters *Vercor*³⁰ and *Coegisti*,³¹ written to his nuns both repeat and enlarge upon the basic ideal found in the Rule. Though their scope is very broad in that they touch on almost all the virtues of the religious state, it is easy to discern as their central note that of the dignity and beauty of consecrated virginity. This becomes especially striking when one observes that while this point is mentioned in the Saint's sermons to monks, the stress there is rather

²³ *Ibid.*, 63, 21. For the recurrence of this theme in Augustine's *De sancta virginitate* see, e.g. chaps. xxvii, xxix, xxxix, xli.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, 5; 72, 26.

²⁵ See the "Outline Analysis of the Rule," especially pp. 80-84, for this emphasis on renouncement. In one sense the entire Rule is devoted largely to detailing the plan of renouncement.

²⁶ *Reg. virg.*, 3, 6; 21-22, 9; 24, 10; 26, 10; 34, 13; 49, 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49, 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, 5; 4, 6; 47, 17; 48-49, 18; 62-63, 20-21.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 5; 2, 6.

³⁰ Ed. Morin, *Opera* II, 134-44.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 129-34.

on the valor with which the spiritual warfare of the monastic life must be conducted.³² Some passages of the letters form a rich commentary for the Rule on the notion of espousal to Christ:

The holy soul should strive constantly to adorn herself with flowers of paradise, that is with thoughts from Holy Scripture; from them she should unceasingly hang precious pearls from her ears; from these she should make rings and bracelets while she performs good works. There she should seek the remedy for her wounds, there the perfume of chastity, there the help-cause of compunction. She who desires to preserve religion in an immaculate heart and a pure body, ought never, or certainly only for great and unavoidable necessity, go out in public; familiar friendship with men, as much as possible should be rare.³³

For a soul chaste and consecrated to God should not have constant association with externs, even with her relatives, either they coming to her or she going to them; lest she hear what is not proper, or say what is not fitting, or see what could be injurious to chastity. For if vessels which are offered to the Church to be placed upon a consecrated altar are called holy by all, and it is wrong that they be taken back afterwards from the Church to a lay abode or adapted to human usage—if vessels which can have neither thought nor feeling have such great dignity, how much dignity do you think the soul has before God to Whose likeness it was created? Therefore, just as holy vessels cannot serve for human uses and must not be taken back from the Church, so it is neither proper, nor fitting, nor right that any religious whatever be involved in any obligations toward her relatives, or bound by dangerous friendships with any externs whatever.³⁴

It is fitting that He should receive earthly gifts from you, Who prepares eternal ones; Let Him receive an earthly substance from you Who has bestowed on you a crown of virginity. You are much more indebted to Him, to Whom it has been granted that you can follow Him, Who is the Immaculate Lamb, wherever He goes . . . Follow Him indeed, oh you holy daughters, holding with perseverance to what you have vowed with ardor.³⁵

³² *Sermones* CCXXXIII-CCXXXVIII, *Opera* I, part ii, 879-906, *passim*.

³³ *Vercor*, 130-137.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 138-39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

The Rule nowhere states that the nuns took a vow of virginity but the passage in *Vercor*, cited just above, implies that they did, and *Cocgisti* states the fact in two passages which are given below. This vow was in accord with customs of the time. It was one more aspect of the Patristic tradition regarding the consecrated virgin to which Caesarius was heir.³⁶ Was it the only vow his nuns took? This question will be considered later in connection with the promise of stability included in his cloister regulations. There is, of course, no notion yet of the formal "poverty-chastity-obedience" concept of the vows which will be developed from about the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, nor even the concept of the vows as formally constituting the essence of the religious state;³⁷ but the second passage below shows that for Caesarius the vow was an oblation,³⁸ the offering to God of something beyond the fulfillment of duty. The linking of the vow with St. Paul's thought in Rom. 12:1-2 suggests the same note found in Caesarius' Sermon 155—that virginity is the total dedication of all one's faculties to God.³⁹

And because according to your holy vow I cannot visit you more frequently, I have taken care with perfect charity to send with due humility to your sincerity this little reminder in place of my presence.⁴⁰

Therefore, this ought to be your primary endeavor and first care, to know the will of your Lord, and diligently to seek out what pleases or displeases Him, that you may render to God a spiritual service, acceptable to God; because it can happen that someone may offend against a vow of serving who did not learn beforehand how she ought to serve. Among all the precepts of God there is a general command concerning justice, because what is commanded to all, no one is permitted to transgress in any way. Concerning virginity it is said thus: 'He who can take it, let him take it;' concerning justice, indeed it is not said: 'He who can do it, let him do it,' but: 'All who do not bear good fruit will be cut down and cast into the fire.' Which indeed the Savior most fully but briefly covered in the

³⁶ P. Séjourné, "Voeux de religion," *DTC*, XV, part ii (1050), 3261-69.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, cols 3235, 3296; also P. Séjourné, "Voeux," *DTC*, XV, part ii (1950), 3194-99.

³⁸ Rom. 12: 1.

³⁹ *Sermo* CLV, *Opera* I, part ii, 598-99.

⁴⁰ *Vercor*, p. 134.

Gospel, saying: 'All whatsoever you wish men to do to you, so do you to them.' Therefore, following the counsel of perfection 'Look not back, but save thyself in the mountain.' Because truly you desire to attain to life, you must walk along the path of the narrow way, having left the broad way of the world and especially secular pomp; you who wish to show forth the apostolic virgin in body, prepare your lamp burning with the oil of good works, for the meeting with the Spouse, thinking always on the things of the Lord. What ought to be the perfection of her whose beginning was of such a kind?⁴¹

The last part of the passage just above is quoted to illustrate the recurrence in the letters of the figure of the wise and faithful virgins; it also repeats the persistent exhortation "to prepare" found in the Rule, and its correlative "to renounce." *Vereor* provides a convenient summary of the life of renunciation as Caesarius envisaged it. It recalls the strong emphasis in the Rule on perseverance, and it reminds the nuns that in the monastery they have a blessed haven wherein they may strive to fulfill their noble ideal:

Rejoice and exult, therefore, in the Lord, venerable daughters, and constantly give abundant thanks to Him, Who from the dark life of this world has designed to draw and call you to the haven of rest and religion. Consider always what you have gone out from and where it has been granted to you to arrive. With faith you have left the darkness of the world, and happily you have begun to see the light of Christ; you have despised the fire of lust and have attained to the cool haven of chastity; you have cast aside gluttony and have chosen abstinence; you have put aside avarice and luxury and have held to charity and

⁴¹ This passage draws heavily on Rom. 12: 1-5. Caesarius equates St. Paul's *rationabile obsequium* with the vow of virginity. The passages are as follows:

Vereor, p. 130

Rom. 12: 1-2

Igitur hoc primum studium primaque cura sit tibi, scire voluntatem domini tui, et diligenter inquirere quid ei placeat, quidve displiceat, ut rationabile deo secundum deum reddas obsequium: quia fieri potest, ut votum obsequendi quisque offendat, qui quomodo obsequi debeat antea non didicit.

Obsecro itaque vos per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium vestrum. Et nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri: ut probetis, quae sit voluntas Dei bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta.

mercy. And although you will not be without a struggle, up to the end of life, nevertheless, God granting, we are certain of your victory. But I beg you, venerable daughters, that as you are secure about the past, so you be solicitous concerning the future. For all wrong-doing and sins quickly come back upon us, if they are not fought against daily by good works. Hear the Apostle Peter saying: 'Be sober, be watchful! For your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goes about seeking someone to devour.' As long as we are living in the body let us, with Christ's help and guidance, fight against the devil day and night. Truly there are some (which is too bad) negligent and tepid, who glory only in the name of Christianity and think that it suffices for them to have changed their dress, and to have received only the garb of religion, not knowing that saying of the Prophet: 'Son, when thou comest to the service of God, stand in justice and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation;' and not reflecting on the thought of the Psalmist: 'For the sake of the words of thy lips I have kept hard ways;' and on that which the Apostle said: 'Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.' For we can put off secular clothes and assume religious garb in the space of one hour; but as long as we live we must always, with the help of Christ, hold on to good morals and strive against the sinfully sweet pleasures of this world; because not he who begins, but 'Whoever perseveres, he shall be saved.'

First, therefore, every soul who desires to preserve religion, to conquer the greed of concupiscence and of gluttony, to avoid drunkenness, should strive with the whole strength of her faith; and she should strive to have tempered meals and a moderate table, so that her body may not be weakened by too great abstinence nor incited to luxurious living through an abundance of delicacies. Then, having cast off pride, which God resists, let her lay the foundations of profound humility; let her detest and fly envy as the poison of a viper; let her bridle her tongue; let her cast off detraction as poison; let her not utter idle words, nor admit them to her ears when wantonly uttered by another; let her accustom herself to have the appearance of her clothing neither too lowly, nor notably showy, nor dangerously elegant; let her reading be very frequent, and let her receive every word of the reading with avidity of heart; from the fount of Scripture let her constantly draw the water of salvation, concerning which the Lord has said especially: 'He who believes in Me, from within him there shall flow rivers of living water.'⁴²

⁴² *Vereor*, pp. 135-36.

The ringing conclusion of this letter *Verer* re-emphasizes the spiritual harvest Caesarius envisioned for his diocese from its community of consecrated women: "Flourish in Christ, oh holy and venerable women!"⁴³ Occasionally his sermons to monks voice this same esteem of the religious state,⁴⁴ especially in his praises of the monks of Lerins;⁴⁵ they stress even more the need for persevering asceticism and prayer.⁴⁶ Caesarius touches on the wise virgins with their lamps to remind the monks of the goal of their ascetical efforts⁴⁷ and he enjoins on the monks, as on the nuns, the duty of praying for him.⁴⁸ Above all in the sermons to monks he expands upon the notion of the monastery as a haven—it is a blessed port where, free from the tossing seas of the world, the religious can prepare for eternal life.⁴⁹

The bishop of Arles did not, of course, dwell upon the religious state in his many sermons to the people in general. Where he touches upon the notions of consecration to God and virginity he sets them magnificently within the total framework of the Christian life in general, showing, in the tradition of the Fathers, that the whole Mystical Body is the virgin Spouse of Christ. The glory of the religious state is that it most perfectly reflects the espousals of the Church to her Divine Bridegroom; the virgin therefore is in the first ranks of the Christian life, "united to holy Mary" and producing the hundred-fold.

And because the blessed apostle has called the whole Catholic Church a virgin—considering in it not only those virgin in body, but desiring uncorrupted minds in all, saying thus: 'I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ,'—the souls not only of nuns but also of all men and women, if they will to guard chastity of body and virginity of heart in the five senses discussed above, should not doubt that they may be espoused to Christ. For

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴⁴ *Sermo CCXXVIII*, p. 883; *CCXXVI*, p. 896; *CCXXVIII*, p. 903.

⁴⁵ *Sermo CCXXVI*, pp. 894-96.

⁴⁶ *Sermones CCXXIII-CCXXVIII*, pp. 879-906, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Sermo CCXXVII*, p. 901.

⁴⁸ *Sermones CCXXIV*, p. 889; *CCXXVII*, p. 902.

⁴⁹ *Sermones CCXXIII*, p. 880; *CCXXIV*, p. 886; *CCXXV*, p. 890; *CCXXVII*, p. 901.

Christ is to be understood as the Spouse, not of bodies, but of souls.⁵⁰

Now, there are three professions in the holy Catholic Church: there are virgins, widows, and also the married. Virgins produce the hundred-fold, widows the sixty-fold, and the married thirty-fold. One bears more, another less, but they are all kept in the heavenly barn and happily enjoy eternal bliss. Therefore, while the virgins think of Mary, the widows consider Anna, and married women reflect upon Susanna, they should imitate the chastity of those women in this world so that they may merit to be united and associated with them in eternity. Good virgins, who want to be such not only in body but also in heart and tongue, are united to holy Mary with the rest of the army of virgins.⁵¹

Caesarius' appreciation of the exalted dignity of the consecrated virgin did not dim his appreciation of the beauty of the diversity of functions in the Mystical Body. He concludes the above passage with the promise that good widows and married women who practice the virtues proper to their state will enjoy in eternity the company of blessed Anna, and holy Job, Sara, and Susanna. He echoes the note of the Fathers that virginity is a total dedication to God of all one's faculties, and infidelity, any offense against the Divine Spouse.⁵² He can apply the parable of the Ten Virgins as easily to life in the world as in the monastery, for all Christian life can ultimately be reduced to preparation for union with God in heaven.⁵³ In his enthusiasm for the religious state he never loses his practical realism, as the following thought, repeated in several sermons, clearly shows:

Much better is humble married life than proud virginity; and much more praiseworthy are they who, in the middle of the sea, guard themselves by the aid of God, than those who are sunk while in the harbor, by too great negligence or security.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Sermo CLV*, p. 599. This sermon seems to contain echoes of Augustine's *De sancta virginitate*, ii, 236; vi, 240.

⁵¹ *Sermo VI*, p. 36. See Augustine, *De sancta virginitate*, xix-xx, 252-54; xlv, 290-91.

⁵² *Sermo CLV*, pp. 598-99. For this thought in the Fathers, see, e.g., Augustine in *De sancta virginitate*, iii, 237; vi, 239; liii, 298-99.

⁵³ *Sermones XXXVI*, p. 152; *LXIX*, p. 280; *CLV*, pp. 597-600; *CLVI*, pp. 600-606; *CLXXXIII*, p. 705.

⁵⁴ This pithy expression of his thought is from *Sermo CXXXVII*, p. 901.

Caesarius' biography provides a brief but faithful summary of the basic ideal his Rule held up to his nuns. They are the holy virgins who with lamps burning stand at the "very door of the kingdom of heaven" waiting for "the eternal embrace of Christ." Having "renounced goods and family," having "spurned the flowers of mortality both deceitful and destructive"⁵⁵ they occupy themselves principally in prayer and fasting.⁵⁶ They are a splendid adornment and a strong fortification for the city of Arles; they are, therefore, fittingly sheltered from turmoil and storm in the "new ark" of their monastery, and watched over by "Caesarius the father, Caesaria the mother."⁵⁷ The dying exhortation of their founder is to perseverance;⁵⁸ in the years following his death they continue to be a source of edification to the city of Arles for the absolute renunciation of that worldliness which is neither fitting nor proper to their state.⁵⁹ Thus did the contemporaries of Caesarius sum up the basic picture of the women religious for whom he would perfect and adapt the cenobitic life.

Adaptation of Cenobitic Life for Women Religious

If the Bishop of Arles was capable of conceiving and expressing a great ideal, he had an even greater genius for translating ideal into action, for formulating those practical means by which a spiritual aim might be realized in a concrete set of circumstances.⁶⁰ For more than a century before him, monastic leaders, most notably Cassian, had seen that the consecrated virgin could best, and perhaps only, carry out her dedication and renunciation within the shelter and the discipline of the cenobitic life;⁶¹ but it is from Caesarius that we have the earliest extant plan for adapting this form of life to the needs of women who wished and whom he wished to carry on the ideal of consecrated virginity already developed in the Church. This adaptation then was the fundamental step for-

one of the sermons to monks. It recurs, however, sometimes with more expanded treatment, in the sermons to the people; see for example: *Sermones* XXVIII, p. 100; *CLV*, pp. 598-99; *CLVI*, p. 603.

⁵⁵ *Vita*, I, 35, 310.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 58, 320.

⁵⁷ *Vita*, I, "Prologus," 296-97.

⁵⁸ *Vita*, II, 47, 344.

⁵⁹ Lejay, "Césaire d'Arles," *op. cit.*, col. 2185; Barty, "La prédication," p. 227.

⁶⁰ See pp. 28-30, *supra*.

ward in his own distinctive monastic "idea" and it was from this that his other developments flowed. These were: the establishment of an absolute cloister, of a full common life under a precise and strictly binding written rule, and of a sound form of government under a full hierarchy of governing officials. They also included provision for economic self-sufficiency both within and without the convent, and a full and carefully regulated life of liturgical prayer under a detailed ordo. What will be said here concerning these features will be based largely upon the penetrating and still unsurpassed studies on the Rule made by Dom Lambot and the more recent comments of Fathers Duval and Olphe-Galliard. Since these scholars have considered the salient features principally from the viewpoint of Caesarius' fundamental purpose to adapt to the needs of nuns, hailing the Rule as a prototype of all rules with this express purpose, it will be well to discuss first what the Saint meant when he told the nuns he had set down regulations "especially adapted to their sex."⁶²

Caesarius did not explain his purpose further; the factors which seem to have governed his choice must be deduced from evidence within the Rule and in relation to the circumstances of his time. It was certainly clear to him that there was no basic difference in asceticism for women and for men, either with regard to fundamental principles of the Christian life or the demands of the life of the Counsels. Yet it was also clear, probably more so than today, that women, given by God a different role in society, had corresponding needs both psychological and social even within the monastic state and would profit by specific applications of ascetical principles.⁶³ Thus Caesarius very probably built up the body of his cloister regulations in response to the all-too-evident needs of the women of his diocese who, attempting to live a life of virginity, were frequent victims of attack due to the wildness of the times,

⁶² *Reg. virg.*, I, 5.

⁶³ Henry, O. P., "The Obedience of Women," in *Obedience* (trans. from *L'obéissance et la religieuse d'aujourd'hui*) (Westminster, Md., 1953), pp. 109-128. Father Henry has attempted to analyze briefly the notion of adaptation of religious life to women, especially with regard to obedience. He makes it clear that asceticism is basically the same for men and women, but that principles can be applied differently for the sexes.

or victims of their own weakness in the face of unavoidable contact with the world, the strictly eremitical life being impossible for them. He saw that he must legislate for economic security for his monastic foundation because the society from which his nuns came provided no means of livelihood for unmarried women.⁶⁴ It is even possible that his care to provide a precise and detailed written rule and system of government were a response to his fear that the women of his times would have had little experience in administration.

One obvious means suggests itself for checking the above conjectures as to Caesarius' thought, and for adding to them—a comparison of his *Rule for Monks* with that of his *Rule for Nuns*. Since he included in the much lengthier nuns' Rule almost all of the ascetical teachings and disciplinary regulations of the monks' Rule, he evidently regarded them as equally applicable to women as to men.⁶⁵ The only two disciplinary regulations which he omitted completely from the nuns' Rule were the prescriptions for corporal punishment and, ⁶⁶ strangely enough (though this may have been the omission of a scribe) the prescription against lying!⁶⁷ It is principally in his method of treating topics and in the great many additions to the *Rule for Nuns* over and above what he took from the monks' Rule that we can find evidence of accommodation to nuns.⁶⁸ The additions especially confirm the first three points noted above: the *Rule for Monks* makes no provision for internal domestic economy of the monastery or for a possible means of support from without;⁶⁹ nor for a system of government,⁷⁰ beyond

⁶⁴ Malnory, *op. cit.*, 257-260; Duval, "Historical Outline of the Development of the Religious Life among Women," *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20; Duval, "The Economic Organization of Convents," *op. cit.*, pp. 83-86.

⁶⁵ The compared texts of the two Rules given on pp. 130-53 *infra*, illustrate many of the points noted here.

⁶⁶ *Reg. mon.*, *Opera* II, p. 150, ll. 17-19.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 150, l. 2.

⁶⁸ The table showing the dependence of the Rule on its sources, pp. 127-29 *infra* indicates how much longer the *Rule for Monks* is than the *Rule for Nuns*.

⁶⁹ Pp. 69-70 outline these provisions in the *Rule for Nuns*.

⁷⁰ The "Outline Analysis of the Rule," pp. 84-85, *infra*, lists the officers of the convent.

the disciplinary injunction to be respectful to the abbot and the *seniores*;⁷¹ and it has by no means the detail and strictness of the nuns' Rule for every aspect of the cloister.⁷² Malnory was of the opinion that the additions to the nuns' Rule of special provision for the sick and weak, and of detailed prohibitions against luxuries and fineries of every kind in clothing and furnishings were further evidence of Caesarius' deliberate attention to the problems of nuns.⁷³

A difference in style, and in approach to his subjects, in the two Rules, gives a further indication of his adaptation to women. Whereas in the nuns' Rule he makes some attempt to teach his ideal by using figures and thoughts associated with spiritual espousals, these, as indeed, almost all figurative language, are notably absent from the men's Rule, the only one employed being striking for its virility—that of the soldier of Christ valiantly engaged in spiritual warfare.⁷⁴ The greater expansiveness and warmth of expression in the *Rule for Nuns* contrasts sharply with the terseness of the *Rule for Monks*, and is probably indicative of the stronger appeal Caesarius felt he could make to the more affectionate and submissive natures of women, as well as of the greater paternal solicitude he felt for them.

Is his Rule the prototype of all rules especially adapted to the needs of women? Some scholars hold that it is. Although the predecessors of Caesarius, St. Basil and St. Augustine, wrote for nuns, their compositions were more in the nature of treatises than rules as the form of the latter has come to be understood; furthermore, neither of these monastic founders expressed, as Caesarius, an explicit purpose of adapting to the needs of nuns as opposed to monks.⁷⁵ One final point remains to be considered—the fact that the *Rule for Nuns* included lengthy passages from the *Rule of St. Augustine*. Did Caesarius use it because it was written for nuns—

⁷¹ *Reg. mon.*, p. 151, ll. 4-5.

⁷² See the cloister regulations of the *Rule for Nuns*, "Outline Analysis," p. 80 *infra*. The *Rule for Monks* merely prohibits the monks from going out, and women from entering the monastery, and forbids the secret reception of mail. *Reg. mon.*, 149, l. 12; 150, l. 31; 150, ll. 27-28.

⁷³ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-63; 260-68.

⁷⁴ *Reg. mon.*, p. 152, ll. 8-24.

⁷⁵ Morin, *Opera* II, 99; C. Lambot, "Augustin (Règle de saint)," *DDC*, I (1935), 1413.

and was it written originally for nuns? There are no definite answers to these questions, and to attempt to surmise answers to the problems connected with the *Rule of St. Augustine* is, as any monastic historian knows today, to add confusion to a study already overloaded with numerous hypotheses. As will be shown in the next chapter,⁷⁶ the weight of evidence seems to incline to the theory that the *Rule of St. Augustine* was written originally by the great bishop himself as a letter to nuns, and therefore, in utilizing large portions of it, Caesarius was availing himself of something appropriate to women. However, very weighty evidence also indicates that the text of the Rule from which Caesarius drew was its masculine form which has been found in manuscripts from the end of the sixth century; therefore, he may have known it only as a monks' rule and may not have thought of it as specifically adapted to women. Lambot has indicated what he thinks Augustine's rule contains of this adaptation,⁷⁷ but it is useless to speculate whether Caesarius understood these points as especially fitted for nuns. With or without its Augustinian borrowings, the Rule of the bishop of Arles has a good claim to the title of prototype of rules adapted to nuns.

The most striking of his adaptations—his cloister laws—give Caesarius an additional claim to a place in monastic history. Dom Lambot has already demonstrated clearly that his Rule should be considered the prototype of all cloister rules. This is not only because it firmly legislates that the nuns may never go out of the monastery, and that no extern may go into the cloistered part of the monastery; but also because it completes these rules by numerous details separating the nuns from all contact with the world and worldliness.⁷⁸ These are listed in the "Outline Analysis" of the Rule, given below, and need not be repeated here.

Dom Lambot singles out three especially significant features regarding Caesarius' cloister: first, that it was a distinct innovation in its time, and a definite and much-needed advance over all pre-

⁷⁶ Pp. 113 ff. *infra*.

⁷⁷ C. Lambot, "St. Augustin a-t-il rédigé la règle pour moines qui porte son nom?" *Rev. Bén.*, LIII (1941), 45 ff.

⁷⁸ Lambot, "Le prototype," pp. 169-74. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, VII, 232-33, reaffirms Lambot's conclusions.

vious efforts at monastic life for women. Lambot remarks on the disorders in the early history of nuns which can be traced to worldly contacts.⁷⁹ The admiring wonder of Caesarius' contemporaries regarding his cloister laws witnesses to the fact that they were the answer to many problems.⁸⁰ Secondly, though there is no direct historic continuity traceable between Caesarius' cloister law in 534 and the first universal imposition of the cloister on nuns by canon law in 1298, Caesarius' law contains all the essential elements which the Church officially adopted eight centuries later, and it must have influenced its long slow development.⁸¹ Thirdly, the Saint had but one end in view in setting up a strict cloister and he fulfilled it: "The full flowering of the contemplative life" proper to the spouse of Christ.⁸² Lambot develops and illustrates these three points with an ease and penetration that make them well worth the reading for one interested in the *Rule for Nuns*. Olphe-Galliard has recently pointed out that enclosure of the convent can also be regarded as a step in the development of the spirit of poverty in cenobitic life as it "effectively prevents the infiltration of worldly vanities into the monastic life and imposes an attitude of aloofness towards relations and friends outside."⁸³

In the establishment of his cloister Caesarius made a rule for which St. Benedict, borrowing from him, would become famous—that of stability.⁸⁴ It stands, as Malnory has said, at "the head"

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-72.

⁸⁰ *Vita* I, 35, 310; Gregorii Turonensis *op. cit.*, IX, 40, 497.

⁸¹ Lambot, "Le prototype," pp. 169-70. A. Vermeersch, "Cloister," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV (1908), 63. Vermeersch writes: "In 1298 Boniface VIII promulgated his celebrated constitution 'Periculosum' (*De Statu Regularium* in VI, III, 16), in which he imposed the cloister on all nuns. According to this law, all egress is forbidden to them; only persons of irreproachable life are admitted to see the sisters and that only when there is a reasonable excuse previously approved of by the competent authorities. . . . The Council of Trent (Sess. XXV, De reg. et Mon., c. v.), confirming these measures confided to the bishops all responsibility for the cloister of nuns."

⁸² Lambot, "Le prototype," pp. 173-74.

⁸³ M. Olphe-Galliard, "Evangelical Poverty in Primitive Monasticism," *Poverty* (trans. L. C. Sheppard, Westminster, Md., 1954), p. 24.

⁸⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 2, 6; *Reg. mon.*, p. 149, ll. 11-12; Sancti Benedicti *Regula monasteriorum* (ed. C. Butler, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1927), "Prologus," p. 8.

of both the Rules for monks and nuns of Caesarius, and was probably known to him at Lerins in the form of a counsel. He is credited with the wisdom of making it into a precept in order to insure the perseverance of his religious in their dedication to the life of perfection;⁸⁵ Benedict, by sanctioning stability with a vow gave it a firm foothold among monastic institutions. Historians still agree with Butler that Benedict was the first monastic legislator in the West to require formal vows—written and signed promises to be preserved in the monastery—not just for stability but for obedience and *conversio morum*.⁸⁶ Recently, however, in a study on religious vows, Séjourné advances the opinion that Caesarius' rule of stability implies a promise so solemn that it contains much of the substance of a vow and, therefore, should be considered very close to Benedict's culminating step of the vow.⁸⁷ In connection with poverty, Olphe-Galliard points out that the written document by which Caesarius required his candidates for religious life to dispose of their property, is a step toward the formal vow of poverty.⁸⁸

Caesarius realized that to perpetuate his ideal of a fully cloistered contemplative community he would have to find practical means to cut off its contacts with the outside world for necessities of financial support or administration, and to build up its interior self-sufficiency both economically and in matters of government. He believed that it was necessary to exempt his community of nuns even from the authority of bishops lest they change the ideal of life he had set up; therefore, he secured the extraordinary papal privilege for his nuns of exemption from episcopal authority,⁸⁹ and in the Rule he charged them, especially the abbess, to guard against any infringement of their privilege.⁹⁰ Lambot, Schmitz, de Plinval,

⁸⁵ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

⁸⁶ Butler, *Beneditine Monachism*, pp. 123 ff. P. Schmitz, *Histoire de l'ordre de saint Benoît*, I (Maredsous, 1942), pp. 21-22; Olphe-Galliard, "From the Fathers of the Desert to St. Basil and St. Benedict," *Obedience*, pp. 32-33, states that one does not yet find a vow of obedience in Caesarius.

⁸⁷ Séjourné, "Vœux de religion," *op. cit.*, cols. 3262, 3270-71.

⁸⁸ Olphe-Galliard, "Evangelical Poverty in Primitive Monasticism," *Poverty*, p. 24.

⁸⁹ The bull of exemption is printed in *Opera II*, 125-26.

⁹⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 64, 22.

and Malnory regard this as a significant event in the early history of monastic exemption, and it would seem to deserve more notice than it receives in general surveys of the topic.⁹¹ While the independence granted to the nuns of Arles cannot be regarded as absolute—the bishop was conceded the right to visit at "fitting times" in view of his pastoral office—the emphasis in the bull of exemption is certainly on the limitation of the bishop's powers. Hormisdas states: "none of the bishops who are your successors shall dare to claim any power in the aforesaid monastery."⁹² That the convent of Arles was noted for this privilege in the sixth century is clear from the fact that Radegund knew of it, and hoped, by adopting Caesarius' Rule, to secure it for her foundation; it may have been known to the nuns of Cassian's convent at Marseilles who also sought exemption at the end of the sixth century.⁹³ The rise of the great centralized orders and congregations and of ever-increasing papal supervision, from the thirteenth century to the present day, has greatly changed the nature of the problem of monastic exemption from what it was in Caesarius' time;⁹⁴ but these changes only serve to show in perspective what an extraordinary step he took. His request for the privilege of exemption reveals the intensity of his desire as a founder to see his ideals perpetuated, and his confidence in the Rule as a substitute for episcopal guidance.

One cannot miss the emphasis Caesarius places on the binding character of the Rule, and on its completeness as a pattern of life for the nuns.⁹⁵ An immediate correlative of this ultimate, supreme and solemn authority of the Rule is the corresponding authority

⁹¹ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 266-67; Schmitz, *op. cit.*, VII, 224-27; de Plinval, "Césaire," *op. cit.*, col. 213; Malnory, *op. cit.*, 252-53, 271. It is not mentioned by E. Vogliasso, "Exemption des religieux," *DDG*, V (1933), 646-65; nor E. Jombart, "Exemption (Droit canon)," *Catholicisme*, IV (1956), 900-903.

⁹² *Opera II*, 126.

⁹³ Gregorii Turonensis *op. cit.*, IX, 39, 395. André, F. *Histoire de l'abbaye des religieuses de Saint-Sauveur de Marseille* (Marseille, 1864), p. 4; Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80.

⁹⁴ Duval, "Historical Outline of the Development of the Religious Life among Women," *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; Schmitz, *op. cit.*, VII, 224-27.

⁹⁵ *Reg. virg.*, 1, 5; 47, 17; 48-49, 18; 58, 20; 62-63-64, 21-22.

of the abbess to govern autonomously under the Rule.⁹⁶ She especially, but also the subordinate officers and all the nuns, are charged by the Rule itself to preserve it in its totality, and to preserve themselves in their exact observance.⁹⁷

The abbess stands at the head of an orderly and practical hierarchy of offices. The description of her office is an appealing one, and if it has not quite the finish of Benedict's celebrated picture of his abbot,⁹⁸ it has many fine touches. A summary view of her office is provided in the "Outline Analysis" of the Rule.⁹⁹ As can be observed, she is truly the "mother of the monastery" who "has to be solicitous for the salvation of all, and concerning the temporalities of the monastery, has to think continually of the need for bodily nourishment, and also to entertain visitors and reply to letters from the faithful."¹⁰⁰ If she and her assistant, the prioress, must exact a strict obedience and must correct their subjects, they do so in a maternal spirit.¹⁰¹ Olphe-Galliard, in tracing religious obedience from the Fathers of the Desert to St. Benedict, finds that Caesarius' concept of authority shows "progress made in the consideration given to the subjects for their own sakes, a breach with authoritarianism, so rigid and uniform, which was probably imposed on the numerous communities of Egypt." He suggests that the "gentleness which breaks through the rule of St. Caesarius"¹⁰² is yet one more feature of its adaptation to women.

The detailed system of offices which Caesarius provided apparently helped, as did the firm but maternal authority of his abbess, to make the monastery run smoothly. Historians surveying monastic history of the entire Middle Ages have noted that an elaborate hierarchy of office was, in general, a late development and revealed in many cases a deterioration in monastic simplicity,¹⁰³ if this is true, then

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 47, 17; 64, 21-22.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 61, 20; 63, 21.

⁹⁸ Benedicti *Regula monasteriorum*, 2, 12-18.

⁹⁹ P. 84 *infra*.

¹⁰⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 27, 11.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 35, 13.

¹⁰² Olphe-Galliard, "From the Fathers of the Desert to St. Basil and St. Benedict," *Obedience*, p. 33.

¹⁰³ E. G., see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 427-39.

Caesarius' foundation was a notable exception to the general law. Olphe-Galliard believes that Caesarius' system of offices "moderated the omnipotence of the superior."¹⁰⁴ Certainly it taught her the principle of delegation of authority for she is expressly told in the Rule that because of her many cares, she should have the prioress and the "woolwork sister" see to the care of the clothing.¹⁰⁵ Others who shared her authority were the novice mistress, the choir or school mistress, the infirmarian, the treasurer.¹⁰⁶ The remaining officers, such as the cellars of the various storerooms,¹⁰⁷ the "woolwork sister"¹⁰⁸ and even the portress¹⁰⁹ help to show the interior economic organization of the convent as well as the governing system of St. John's, and will be discussed below. The officers seem to have been elected from the group of elder religious known as *seniores*, and sometimes the general term *senior* is used for an officer rather than the specific title of her office.¹¹⁰

Before the internal self-sufficiency of the convent is discussed it is well to recall that Caesarius had made it financially independent by a permanent endowment from the property of the Church of Arles. As has already been explained in Chapter I he had obtained papal sanction for this in the same bull which granted exemption from episcopal authority. Realizing that the very existence of his cloistered contemplative community depended on this assured financial support, he secured the assent of seven of his suffragan bishops to the bull¹¹¹ and in the Rule most solemnly charged the nuns to guard their papal privileges.¹¹² The revenues of the community probably increased somewhat over the years from the gifts of prospective nuns whom the Rule permitted to dispose of their possessions in favor of the monastery, but even without this increase, Caesarius saw that his nuns had the means to carry on the life he had planned for them.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Olphe-Galliard, "From the Fathers of the Desert . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ *Reg. virg.*, 27, 11.

¹⁰⁶ See "Outline Analysis of the Rule," for these officers, pp. 84-85, *infra*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 32, 12.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 27, 11; 30, 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 25, 10; 43, 16.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 6; 30-31, 12; 33, 13; 42, 15.

¹¹¹ Hormisdas *Exultio in domino*, *op. cit.*, 125-27.

¹¹² *Reg. virg.*, 64, 22.

¹¹³ Duval, "The Economic Organization of Convents," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

It may be asked what provision was made for the practice of poverty by the founder who provided so well materially for his community. Here his ideal reached down to the very roots of the Church and of monastic life. He gave his nuns, chiefly through his excerpts from the *Rule of St. Augustine*, the practice of poverty according to the full common life of the first Christian community of Jerusalem. He added his own details concerning such matters as simplicity in dress and furnishings. Furthermore, as Duval has pointed out, he made the interior economic organization of the convent serve the practice of the poverty of the common life as much as it served the necessities of the time:

From this point of view [the poverty of the common life] work was not merely an occupation—outside prayer-time to avoid useless gossip (cf. n. 19)¹¹⁴—but the service of the community. The housework was to be done by the sisters, for they were not allowed to employ secular servants and this applied even to the abbess (n. 6). All the sisters were to take their turn as cook. The community was also to be self-sufficient in respect of the making and upkeep of their clothes. Woolwork was the 'daily burden' that the sisters were to accept 'with humility' and carry out 'with all their skill,' so that it should be unnecessary to buy clothes outside the monastery (n. 28). Thus work was considered as a sign of voluntary poverty. On the other hand there was no question of making it a source of income for the monastery: all material activity, for the benefit of those outside the monastery was forbidden (nos. 46, 51).

Thus the rule of St. Caesarius depicts an ideal organization of completely common life. It is the ideal of poverty "*secundum formam apostolicam*."¹¹⁵

The culminating feature of the monastic "idea" of Caesarius was that his consecrated, cloistered virgins living a full common life under their Rule should dedicate most of the day and night to the recitation of Divine Office,¹¹⁶ nourishing their souls when out of

¹¹⁴ Duval's citations refer to chap. nos. of Morin's ed. of *Reg. virg.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

¹¹⁶ The contents of the Hours and the length of the Vigils, *Reg. virg.*, 66, 68-70, show that the recitation of Office consumed much of the nuns' time; Lambot, "Césaire," col. 273-74, notes its central places in their lives; Hormisdas, in *Exultate in domino*, *op. cit.*, p. 125, congratulated Caesarius for his communities of clerks, monks, and nuns who celebrated the Office.

choir on its sacred prayers.¹¹⁷ He therefore included in the Rule a lengthy and detailed Ordo providing for the liturgical seasons, for a *cursus* of seven day Hours and long nightly Vigils, and for the contents of each of the Hours. The major portion of this commentary will be devoted to the problems arising under these three topics, for as Lambot has said: "This venerable monument of the ancient Gallican liturgy is not easy to interpret because of the singular terms one reads there; also because of the lack of order and succession which we have already noted as a serious defect of the Rule itself."¹¹⁸ Without careful study one might well miss the full pattern of prayer life the Ordo lays down for the nuns. An outline of the liturgical year and the *cursus* has been provided in the "Outline Analysis" of the Rule at the end of this Chapter, and the translation of the Ordo itself has been arranged in outline form in order to assist the reader in following the directions for the Office.

It would obviously require volumes to delineate the general setting of liturgical history into which Caesarius' Ordo fits, so rich and fruitful have been the studies of liturgists on the early development of the Office. In these few pages only a few of the major lines of thought currently pursued by liturgists can be touched on, where they throw light on the Ordo of the *Rule for Nuns*. Scholars have, within the last thirty years, firmly established the notion that from the time of the monastic movement in the fourth century almost to Carolingian times there were two separate and distinct lines of development of the cathedral as opposed to the monastic Office, until the latter at length came to prevail for the whole Church under the influence of Gregory the Great and the Benedictines. Much current research is devoted to illustrating the greatly extended character—both by addition of Hours, and in the contents of the Hours—which

¹¹⁷ *Reg. virg.*, 22, 9; 16, 8; 20, 9.

¹¹⁸ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 274-5; C. Gindele, O. S. B., "Die Struktur der Nökturnen in der lateinischen Mönchsregeln vor und um St. Benedikt, *Rev. ben.*, LXIV (1954), 15. (Hereafter cited as Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nökturnen,"). K. Berg has a chapter on the Ordo of the *Rule for Nuns* in *Die Werke des Hl. Caesarius von Aries als liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle* (Gregorian Univ. Diss.), but only the chapter on baptism has been published (Munich, 1946). M. Righetti, *Manuale di storica Liturgia*, II (2 vols., Milan, Ancora, 1946), 433, treats briefly of Caesarius' Ordo.

the Office took on under the monks, especially the Fathers of the Desert.¹¹⁹ The Ordo of the *Rule for Nuns*, identified by Caesarius himself as that of Lerins,¹²⁰ has provided good material for illustration along these lines since it reflects the customs of the Eastern monks as they were incorporated in the fifth century into the incipient Gallican liturgy.¹²¹ More than the Benedictine Office, which was derived directly from the Office of the Roman basilica monasteries,¹²² the Lerins' Ordo shows the tendency of the Fathers of the Desert to make the Office as much of an ascetical practice as a cult, through their extended Vigils and the recitation of the entire Psalter, not in one week as by the Benedictines, but in one day as by some of the Fathers.¹²³ The nuns of Arles seem to have kept vigil through many hours of the night, every night through-

¹¹⁹ J. A. Jungmann, S. J. ("Die vormonastische Morgenhöre im gallisch-spanischen Raum des VI Jhts.," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, LXXVIII [1956], 306), cites the works of the following as important for establishing and illustrating the distinction between the monastic and cathedral office: A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg-im Breisgau, 1923; *Liturgie comparée* (3rd ed. rev. by B. Botte, Chevetogne, 1953), 123 ff.; W. C. Bishop, *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites* (Alcuin Club Tracts, 15; London, 1924); and P. Salmon, O. S. B., "Aux origines du bréviaire romain. De la répartition de l'office entre les diverses églises urbaines du V^e au VIII^e siècle," *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 27 (1951), 114-36. Jungmann notes that Mabillon and Bäumer did not make this distinction. He has treated of it in some detail: see, e.g. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gebetsliturgie," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, LXXII (1950), 64-79. J. M. Hanssens, S. J., also notes it in *Aux origines de la prière liturgique: Nature et genèse de l'office des Matines*. Analecta Gregoriana. Series facultatis theologiae, sectio A (no. 7), vol. LVII (Rome, 1952).

¹²⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 66, 22.

¹²¹ Cassian and Honoratus of Lerins were both disciples of the Eastern monks. See J. B. Thibaut, *L'ancienne liturgie gallicane. Son origine et sa formation en Provence aux V^e et VI^e siècles, sous l'influence de Cassien et de Saint Césaire d'Arles*. (Paris, 1929).

¹²² C. Callevaert, *Scris Brudiri. Fragmenta liturgica*, 53-108, Steenbrugge, 1940. Scholars accept his studies as basic on this point; see, e.g. B. Luyckx, "L'influence des moins sur l'office paroissial," *La Maison-Dieu*, No. 51 (1957), pp. 75-76; 72, n. 29. See also Schmitz, *op. cit.*, II, 309.

¹²³ C. Gindele, O. S. B., "Zur Geschichte von Form und Abhängigkeit bei römischen und monastischen Brevier," *Rev. Bén.*, LXV (1956), 182.

out the winter¹²⁴ and two times a week in the summer.¹²⁵ They seem to have recited about eighty psalms a day in the winter, sixty or more in the summer.¹²⁶

Dom Gindele, who has recently written at length to try to establish the origins of the celebrated *Regula Magistri* through the evidence of its Ordo, has confirmed the fact that Caesarius represents the "old monastic" tendencies especially toward the *psalterium currens* rather than the *psalterium hebdomadae* of Benedict. He also links Caesarius with a practice of some early Gallic monasteries—the "Laus perennis." He finds this type of service in the vigil which Caesarius' nuns performed in alternating groups through the entire night on occasion of the death of one of their sisters.¹²⁷ Later in this chapter some of Gindele's views will be presented on the problematic terms designating the contents of the Hours in the Ordo of Caesarius, but it is not feasible here to discuss his whole thesis while the basic problem of the original text and date of the *Regula Magistri* remains in such an unsettled state. If, as Gindele holds, and also Masai and his colleagues, the *Regula Magistri* antedates St. Benedict, then its liturgical directions are close in time and perhaps in place of origin to the Lerins Ordo of Caesarius, and final studies on the latter must await the further unraveling of the *Regula Magistri* problem.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 69, 24.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 66, 23.

¹²⁶ Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," p. 18, says they recited most of the Psalter in one day. Only an estimate can be given here of the daily recitation because certain terms and rubrics in the Ordo are not clear, as will be pointed out in this chapter. The daily recitation of Psalms seems to have been as follows: Summer Winter (second Nocturn is added)

Ordinary days: 62 80

Sundays and feasts: 68 86 (Prime is added)

¹²⁷ C. Gindele, "Zur Geschichte von Form und Abhängigkeit bei römischen und monastischen Brevier," *op. cit.*, 192-207. See also "Gestalt und Dauer des vorbenediktinischen Ordo Officii," *Rev. Bén.*, LXVI (1956), 3-13; "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," cited above; and "Die gallikanischen 'Laus Perennis'—Kloster und ihr 'Ordo Officii,'" *Rev. Bén.*, LXIX (1959), 32-48. See p. 173 for references to the "Laus perennis" at the monastery of St. Maurice of Agaune. See chap. 70 of the *Rule for Nuns* for the Vigil for the dead.

¹²⁸ Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," 9-27. F. Masai, "La 'Regula Magistri' et l'histoire du bréviaire," *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, II (Rome, 1949), 423-39.

The text of the Ordo itself shows that its first big divisions are for the liturgical seasons. It outlines the temporal cycle as it was known in sixth-century Gaul and substantially as it is known today:

Then, as now, the Church kept a Nativity and a Resurrection cycle, with an Advent preparing for Christmas and an Epiphany completing it, with a Lent making ready for Easter and a subsequent time of rejoicing brought to a close by the Pentecostal commemoration.¹²⁹

Caesarius' Ordo commences with directions for Easter rather than for Advent.¹³⁰ Scholars have found evidence from southern Gaul for the fifth and possibly the sixth century that the liturgical year commenced with the Easter Vigil rather than with Advent; it is possible to suggest then, that the nuns of Arles were continuing this practice. However, there seems to be no other evidence than the text of the Rule, and Morin, well-versed in all that concerns Caesarius, put the latter's Advent sermons, not those for Easter at the beginning of his *Sermones de tempore*.¹³¹

The Ordo gives two other indications of the liturgical year in sixth-century Gaul. It reflects the very rudimentary state of the sanctoral cycle of this period,¹³² having feasts only for martyrs and giving only brief directions for these.¹³³ On the other hand, it reflects clearly what liturgists and commentators have noted regarding the Benedictine liturgy, and indeed, that of all peoples who live by the sun—that the great divisions of the liturgical year are summer and winter.¹³⁴ If there is any thread of organization discernible in Caesarius' thought as he shifts from one rubric to another in the Ordo it is this seasonal division.

The *cursus* of the Ordo is clearly recognizable in terms of the modern breviary, though not identical with it. It includes Lauds,

¹²⁹ Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

¹³⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 66, 22.

¹³¹ *Reg. virg.*, 66, 25. Devotion to the martyrs among these religious of the early sixth century is an illustration of the point noted by monastic historians that the early religious regarded themselves as successors to the martyrs. See especially E. E. Malone, O. S. B., *The Monk and Martyr*. The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr. The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, No. 12, Washington, D. C., 1950.

¹³² P. Delatte, O. S. B., *The Rule of St. Benedict: A Commentary* (Trans. J. McCann, O. S. B., New York, 1921), p. 139.

¹³³ Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Prime, Terce, Sext, None, *Lucernarium* or Vespers, *Duodecima*, and the Nocturns (one or two, depending on the season) followed by long Vigil services consisting almost entirely of Scripture readings.¹³⁵ Gindele would like to find the beginning of the now-traditional three Nocturns in Caesarius by suggesting that since *Duodecima* has the same basic content as the Nocturns—eighteen psalms, two lessons and a hymn—it is really a first Nocturn, the other two called the Nocturns in the Rule being the second and third. He notes that in the directions for Christmas and Epiphany *Duodecima* is followed by the readings characteristic of the Vigil service at the end of the Nocturns properly so-called, but he has no positive proof of his theory.¹³⁶ Leclercq, Bäumer, and Beck consider *Duodecima* to be the second part of Vespers, separated from the first part, *Lucernarium*, by a short interval of time.¹³⁷ Lambot thought it possible to suggest that *Duodecima* was Compline, but he admits the existence of the counter-evidence pointed to by most scholars—that the Ordo of Bishop Aurelian of Arles, modeled very closely on that of Caesarius, includes in addition to *Duodecima* an Hour called *Completa*.¹³⁸ This latter appeared first in the West, as far as is known, even before Aurelian, in St. Benedict.¹³⁹

Caesarius seems to have been the first to include the Hour of Prime under that name in his Ordo.¹⁴⁰ A controversy has raged in the last decade as to whether or not Cassian's *Institutes* really contains the account of the institution of the Hour of Prime in a monastery in Bethlehem (though not yet with its now-traditional name), but none of the new theories of the origin of the Hour contest in any way the fact that the earliest extant source for its

¹³⁵ See "Outline Analysis of the Rule," pp. 85-87 *infra*.

¹³⁶ Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," p. 18.

¹³⁷ H. Leclercq, "Lucernaire," *DACL*, IX, part ii (1914-16); S. Bäumer, *Histoire du bréviaire*, I (trans. R. Biron, 2 vols., Paris, 1905), 217; Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

¹³⁸ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 275.

¹³⁹ L. Eisenhofer, *Grundriss der Liturgik des römischen Ritus* (Freiburg, 1950), pp. 319 ff.

¹⁴⁰ P. Siffert, O. S. B., "Prima," *Enciclopedia cattolica*, X (1953), 3-4; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 114 and n. 85; Lambot, "Césaire," col. 277; Morin, "Index nominum et rerum:" "primae officium," *Opera* II.

name and use is to be found in Caesarius' Ordo.¹⁴¹ Apparently it was celebrated only on Saturdays, Sundays and feast days in the Arles monastery,¹⁴² and it remained for Benedict to give it its established place in the *cursum*.¹⁴³

Besides problems concerning the nature of the liturgical year and the daily *cursum* there are problems concerning the contents of each of the Hours, especially their terminology. Notes have been supplied to accompany the text of the translation, but these will be profitably supplemented here by an over-all view of the contents of the Hours and a general discussion of some of the more problematic terms. Not all of the problems can be solved even by scholars who have devoted considerable study to them, but in these cases their varying opinions will be presented for whatever light they can throw on the nature of the elements concerned.

Psalmi, *lectiones*, *hymni* constitute the invariable backbone of the Hours, the *missae* of the Vigils. This last term designates the group of three lessons recited by each of the three, four, or six sisters appointed to perform this function during Vigils.¹⁴⁴ The lessons directed for the Hours are called *lectiones*¹⁴⁵ and have been translated "lessons," the *missae* as "readings" in order to distinguish the two terms. The latter term *missa* was used in general to designate any unit of divine service from which there was a "missa"—a formal "dismissal" of the individual at the end of his

¹⁴¹ J. Froger, *Les origines de prime* (Rome, 1946), contested the traditional notion of tracing Prime to Cassian (e.g., see J. Pargoire, "Prime et Complies," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, III (1898), 281-288, 456-467.); O. Chadwick, "The Origins of Prime," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XLIX (1948), 178-82 rejects Froger's thesis; so also does Masai, although he agrees with Froger that Cassian was not the source for the origin of Prime in the West: F. Masai, "Les noms des heures et les textes de Cassien intéressant l'histoire de prime," *Archivum latinitatis mediæ ævi*, XIX (1940), 23-27. Froger has changed some views but has kept his basic thesis: "Note pour rectifier l'interprétation de Cassien, Inst. 3, 4, 0 proposée dans 'Les origines de Prime,'" *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1952), 96-102.

¹⁴² *Reg. virg.*, 69, 24.

¹⁴³ *Benedicti Regula monasteriorum*, 15-18, 48-51.

¹⁴⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 66, 23; 69, 25; 69, 24.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 66, 22.

or her assigned function.¹⁴⁶ It was used in the same connection—by Caesarius himself in the Rule proper—to refer to Mass.¹⁴⁷

The Ordo assigns a hymn, in most cases by name, to each of the seven day-Hours and to the Nocturns. These hymns, some of Ambrose and the Ambrosian school, form the oldest hymn collection to be found in the West,¹⁴⁸ and have been of interest to scholars who have tried to reconstruct the list to which Benedict refers in his Rule when he merely notes "sequatur Ambrosianum," or "hymnus eiusdem horae."¹⁴⁹ Blume maintains that Benedict took his hymns from Caesarius and that during Carolingian times these were gradually superseded by the hymns known since then to be part of the Benedictine Office; but Wilmar, whose opinions Raby confirms, believes that Benedict's hymn collection was from the beginning different from that of Caesarius.¹⁵⁰ Whatever may be the relation between their hymn collections, both monastic legislators were at one in fostering the use of hymns in the early period of development of the monastic Office in the West at a time when hymns were being kept out of the Eastern monastic Office.¹⁵¹

If Caesarius is fairly clear on the method of chanting the lessons and hymns, there is one aspect of his directions for the chanting of the psalms which is completely problematic—the nature of the "antiphons" which are assigned to accompany most of the groups of psalms. The term is a baffling one in many liturgical texts well

¹⁴⁶ C. Gindele, "Die Entlassung (Missae) in den ordines der monastischen officien," *Benediktin monatschrift*, XXXII (1956), 212-14, has dealt with various usages of the term, treating specifically of Caesarius' use in his Ordo.

¹⁴⁷ *Reg. virg.*, 36, 14.

¹⁴⁸ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1953), pp. 33-34, identifies 4 of Caesarius' 13 hymns as Ambrosian. L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katalischen Liturgik* I, 219, notes that Caesarius has the oldest hymn collection in the West. W. Bulst, *Hymni latini antiquissimi LXXV, psalmi III* (Heidelberg, 1950), confirms the findings of Raby and Eisenhofer. He prints the hymns of Caesarius' Ordo.

¹⁴⁹ *Benedicti Regula monasteriorum*, 9, 42; 12, 45; 13, 46; 17, 49-50; 18, 51.

¹⁵⁰ Raby, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40, sums up the arguments of both scholars.

¹⁵¹ A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (trans. F. L. Cross, London, 1958), pp. 102-103.

on into the Middle Ages¹⁵² and the most that can be done here in connection with Caesarius' use of it is to indicate some of the conjectures of scholars as to its meaning. They agree that the word is probably used in more than one sense in the Ordo. Recently, in an extensive comparative survey of directions for Office in various rules around the time of St. Benedict, Gindele has conjectured that Caesarius, among other monastic authors, frequently uses *antiphona* to designate "responsory" as it is found in the Office today.¹⁵³ The passages that he cites to illustrate this usage in the *Rule for Nuns* will be noted in the translation as well as one instance of a divergent usage which he cites. His studies on Caesarius' *antiphona* are but part of his thesis already mentioned built on liturgical studies to show that the *Regula Magistri* was anterior to the Rule of St. Benedict;¹⁵⁴ his whole thesis has not, of course, met with universal acceptance, but many of his views are regarded with great interest.¹⁵⁵ Some years ago Lambot distinguished two meanings for Caesarius' *antiphona*, neither of them being Gindele's "responsory." Lambot conjectured that where Caesarius speaks of "psalmi cum antiphonis" he refers to psalms with versicles interjected at intervals by the congregation during the recital of a psalm by the chanter—like the Invitatory psalm and verses in the Office today; and where Caesarius speaks of "psalmi decem et octo, antiphonae tres" (in other words, psalms and antiphons) his "antiphons" are psalms recited by alternate choirs.¹⁵⁶ Gindele seems to reject in general the notion of this latter type of antiphonal psalmody for Caesarius' ordo and other ordos contemporary with it,¹⁵⁷ but Beck as well as Lambot believes that antiphonal psalmody was used at

¹⁵² Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, p. 9; Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16; Lambot, "Césaire," col. 275; A. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus* (with notes by O. Heiming, Munich, 1957), 125-47 *passim*.

¹⁵³ Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, pp. 14-19.

¹⁵⁴ Gindele, "Zur Geschichte von Form und Abhängigkeit bei römischen und monastischen Brevier," *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 197, notes that the psalm with antiphon is an important element in the early development of the Breviary.

¹⁵⁵ O. Heiming, "Einleitung des Herausgebers," *Nocturna Laus*, pp. 5-8; B. Luyckx, "L'influence des moines sur l'office paroissial," *La Maison-Dieu*, No. 51 (1957), 78.

¹⁵⁶ Lambot, "Césaire," 275.

¹⁵⁷ Gindele, "Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Arles in the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁵⁸ Notes attached to the translation will show the passages of the Rule in which Lambot as well as Gindele attempt to define *antiphona*.

No discussion of the terminology Caesarius used in connection with the Office should be concluded without a consideration of that most significant of all terms which he was one of the first to apply to the Office—"opus dei." One cannot now assert with assurance that Caesarius was the very first to have given it such a meaning nor that he gave it to Benedict, since it occurs in the *Regula Magistri*, some parts of which may antedate Caesarius by several decades, and from which Benedict may have been a borrower.¹⁵⁹ What is more important than the mere chronology of the use, is the richness of meaning in the term, expressing as it does the purpose for which Caesarius gave his nuns their Ordo—to make prayer the immediate end of their cloistered community life. In a recent study Hausherr has traced the use of "*opus dei*" from its meaning in Scripture—the life of faith; through its meaning in early monastic writings—the ascetic life; to the specific meaning—Divine Office—which it acquired under Caesarius and Benedict, to be passed on by the latter to the whole Middle Ages. Hausherr believes that it lost none of its richness of content by its more specific usage, because for the two founders it expressed the notion of prayer as the summary and culmination of all other efforts towards God—"prayer presupposes and contains all virtuous actions." As the "work of God" it includes the notion of God working in man, prayer therefore as the gift of God and a means to direct union with God. It was Cassian, Hausherr maintains, who developed and expressed most clearly the rich notion of the central and integrating place of prayer in the monastic life and who gave it, all but the specific wording "*opus dei*," to Caesarius and to Benedict. The theory is very plausible in the light of the weighty dependence of

¹⁵⁸ Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

¹⁵⁹ Masai, "La 'Regula Magistri' et l'histoire du bréviaire," *op. cit.*, pp. 427-28, believes that the *Regula Magistri* used *opus dei* before Caesarius. A claim has been made that the use by Pelagius of *opus dei* in his Latin translation of the *Verba seniorum* antedated St. Caesarius' and St. Benedict's: L. T. Lorie, S. J., *Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii* (Nymegen, 1955), p. 92. However, it would seem difficult to prove that the *Verba seniorum* was written before the *Rule for Nuns*.

the two founders on Cassian, and of the full contemplative ideal which both are known to have espoused.¹⁰⁰

Outline Analysis of the Rule

Because an understanding and appreciation of the true nature and excellence of the *Rule for Nuns* has been rendered somewhat difficult by its loosely-organized, rambling character, an attempt has been made in this chapter to reorganize it in outline form according to subject matter. The fifteen subject headings show clearly the broad scope of St. Caesarius' legislation, and the detail with which some are developed show his zealous concern for even the most minute observance which might lead to perfection. As the organization is artificial, it does not give the direct, simple, earnestness of St. Caesarius himself which is apparent in the Rule. On the other hand, the outlines do give what the Rule in its present form does not, that is, a concrete notion of its breadth and thoroughness in laying down a pattern of religious perfection.

I. END OF THE FOUNDATION

1. Union with God through consecrated virginity: chaps. 1, 63.
2. Monastic life especially adapted to the needs of women: chap. 2.
3. Constant prayer for the founder and his pastoral work: chaps. 1, 72.

II. CLOISTER¹⁰¹

1. Nuns may never go out of the monastery: chaps. 2, 50.
2. In general, no one may enter the cloister: chaps. 36, 37.
3. Nuns may not receive mail secretly: chaps 25, 54.
4. Nuns may not carry on intimate, secret friendships with

¹⁰⁰ I. Harnack, "Opus Dei," *Miscellanea Guillelmo de Jersphation* (vol. XIII of *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 1947), 204-12.

¹⁰¹ Lambot's study "Le prototype," pp. 163-174, explains the cloister rules thoroughly. He notes (p. 171) that the general principle is that entrance to the monastery is forbidden to all. However, exception is made for bishops, clerics, and the provisor and workmen.

clerics or seculars, nor perform services for them: chaps. 46, 51.

5. Nuns may not be baptismal sponsors: chap. 11.
6. Girls are not to be accepted for schooling: chap. 7.
7. Bishops and clerics may go into the oratory; provisor and workmen may enter the monastery for necessary work: chaps. 36, 38.
8. Nuns may have visitors at approved hours; an elder religious remains with a younger: chaps. 38, 40.
9. No one may be served a repast except another nun: chaps. 39, 40.
10. The provisor distributes the alms to the poor: chap. 42.
11. The abbess holds the keys to the entrance; allows no new doors; all doors are sealed except the main one which the portress attends: chaps. 30, 32, 59, 73.
12. Strict guard over the privileges of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and of financial independence: chap. 64.

III. ADMISSION OF CANDIDATES AND PROBATION

1. Candidates must be at least six or seven years of age: chap. 7.
2. Widows and married women who have left their husbands are accepted: chap. 5.
3. Candidates must pass through a year's training under an elder religious before being admitted to community life and wearing of the habit: chap. 4.
4. The Rule must be read frequently to candidates, and they must accept its provisions freely and entirely before admission: chap. 58.

IV. COMMON LIFE

1. The "cor unum et anima una" of the first Christian community at Jerusalem: chap. 20.
2. Humility concerning former station in life: chap. 21.

3. Neither abbess nor any other nun may have a slave: chap. 7.
4. All work to be done in common; assigned by abbess or elder religious; accepted cheerfully: chaps. 8, 16, 17, 29, 57.
5. No private cells or cupboards; clothing and food under common custody: chaps. 9, 28, 51.

V. POVERTY

1. Absolute renunciation of property: chaps. 5, 17, 21, 52.
2. Renunciation of property by minors when they come of age: chap. 6.
3. Gifts taken to abbess: chaps. 25, 30, 43.
4. Old clothing given to poor or younger religious: chap. 43.
5. Undyed wool clothing, woven in monastery; no trimmings: chaps. 44, 55.
6. Contentment with clothing provided: chap. 28.
7. Headress simple: chap. 56.
8. Simple furnishings even in the oratory; no worldly bed coverings or rugs or tapestries; no pictures on the walls; silver to be used only in the oratory: chaps. 44, 45, 60.

VI. OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY AND FIDELITY TO RULE

1. Obedience to the abbess and the prioress: chaps. 18, 29, 35.
2. Obedience to elder religious on the part of the younger religious: chaps. 8, 16, 33.
3. Fidelity and reverence for the rule: chaps. 47, 48, 49, 58, 62, 63, 64.

VII. CHASTITY

1. Consecration to the service of God: chaps. 1, 11, 40.
2. Custody of the eyes: chap. 23.
3. Clothing and headress simple and unadorned: chaps. 22, 44, 55, 56.
4. Cloister rules, especially #2, #3, #5, #7.

VIII. CHARITY

1. Concord and union; mutual esteem because of the In-dwelling Presence: chap. 21.
2. Nuns should not strike or steal from one another or reproach or quarrel with one another: chaps. 26, 33.
3. Quarrels should be speedily ended and pardon sought: chap. 33.
4. Fraternal correction as an act of charity: chap. 24.

IX. CARE OF THE SICK

1. All those in authority and infirmarians are responsible before God for devoted care of the sick: chaps. 22, 32, 42.
2. Wine and food as needed by the sick; fowl and even flesh meat in severe illness; separate storeroom and kitchen if necessary for the sick: chaps. 30, 32, 42, 71.
3. Baths allowed only for the sick: chap. 31.

X. VARIOUS POINTS OF EXTERIOR OBSERVANCE

Silence:

1. Talking only when necessity of work requires it: chaps. 19, 20.
2. Never loud talking: chap. 9.
3. Signs to be used at table; nuns to listen to reading: chap. 18.
4. Never any cursing or swearing: chap. 3.

Punctuality:

1. For Divine Office and work: chap. 12.
- Conduct at Divine Office:
1. Silence: chap. 10.
2. No distracting works done during vigils: ¹⁶² chap. 15.
3. Nuns who become drowsy should stand: chap. 15.

¹⁶² Vigils consisted of readings performed by individual sisters in turn, while ordinarily the rest of the community sat and listened. Chap. 15 indicates that the nuns were allowed to perform some handwork.

XI. FAULTS AND CORRECTION

1. Excommunication for serious faults and failure to amend: chaps. 12, 13, 34, 65.
2. Punishment according to rule for various faults: chaps. 25, 26, 30, 32, 46.
3. Satisfaction for and seeking of pardon for faults against charity: chaps. 33, 34.
4. Necessity of correction to prevent spread of negligence: chap. 65.

XII. OCCUPATIONS OF NUNS WHEN NOT AT PRAYER

1. Weekly turns at household duties for all except the abbess: chap. 14.
2. Daily wool work for all; the making of the clothing of the monastery: chaps. 16, 27.
3. All should learn to read: chap. 18. (Caesarius' biographers state that the nuns "copied the divine books," *Vita* I, 59.)
4. Reading till the second hour daily, then work for remainder of day (except for attendance at Divine Office): chaps. 19, 20, 69.

XIII. GOVERNMENT AND OFFICERS

1. Abbess: a) the "mother of the monastery": chap. 27, 32, 35, 47, 72.
 b) complete spiritual and temporal governance of the monastery: chaps. 18, 27, 35, 61, 67.
 c) special solicitude for the sick: chaps. 30, 32.
 d) should never eat outside the monastery except for grave reasons: chap. 41.
 e) should be attended by two or three sisters in going to the parlor: chap. 38.
 f) guardian of the rule and of enclosure: chaps. 47, 59.
 g) election and qualifications: chap. 61.
2. Prioress: assistant to the abbess: chaps. 18, 25, 27, 35, 47.

3. Novice mistress: chaps. 4, 35, 42.
4. Choir mistress: chaps. 35, 42.
5. Infirmarian: chaps. 32, 42.
6. Sister in charge of woolwork: chaps. 27, 30.
7. Treasurer or storekeeper: chap. 28.
8. Cellarers: manner of discharging office, chaps. 30, 40; custody of food, wines, clothing, books: chaps. 32, 42.
9. Portress: chaps. 25, 43.

XIV. SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

Private Prayer: ¹⁰³

1. Constant recollection and meditation on Scripture even while working: chaps. 1, 18, 20, 22.
2. Prayer is the primary occupation of a nun and her portion of service in the Church: chap. 40.

Spiritual Reading: ¹⁰⁴

1. Two hours daily or until Terce: chaps. 19, 20, 69.
2. At meals: chap. 18.

Liturgical Prayer:

Celebration of Divine Office—Ordo ¹⁰⁵

1. The Pasch and its Octave: chap. 66.
Terce

¹⁰³ Mental prayer is described in the following terms:

Chap. 1 . . . visitationem Filii dei assiduus orationibus implorate . . .
 18 cum . . . lectio cessaverit, meditatio sancta de corde non cesset.

20 meditatio verbi dei et oratio de corde

22 cum . . . psalmis et hymnis oratis deum, id versetur in corde, quod profertur in voce . . . de divinis scripturis semper aliquid ruminare.

¹⁰⁴ Spiritual reading seems to have been chiefly from Scripture as they are exhorted after reading to meditate on Scripture (chaps. 20, 22).

¹⁰⁵ The Ordo is as rambling and loosely organized as the entire rule. As the outline presented here follows St. Caesarius' order closely, it may also appear to be rambling. It seemed best to follow St. Caesarius' order to convey his meaning most accurately.

Sext

None

Vespers or *Lucernarium**Duodecima*

The Nocturns

2. Procedure through the summer months to October: ch. 66.

from the Octave of the Pasch

The Nocturns

Vigils: Pasch to August, only on Fridays and Sundays; lessons to be used after *Duodecima* and after the Nocturns.

3. Christmas and Epiphany: chap. 68.

Vigils: lessons to be used before and after the Nocturns.

4. Procedure for weekdays: chap. 68.

Terce

Sext

None

5. Procedure for Saturdays and Sundays: chap. 68.

Terce

6. Procedure for all feasts: chap. 68.

Terce

7. Procedure through the winter: October to the Pasch: chap. 69.

The Nocturns: First and Second.

Vigils: weekdays, Sundays and the feasts of martyrs; lessons to be used; length of Vigils and Rubrics

Lauds

Prime

Vespers

8. Vigils for the dead: chap. 70.

Vigils before midnight

Vigils after midnight: for an elder sister; for a younger sister

Services for the dead in the basilica

Prayers for the Burial of Sisters (These are not contained within the rule itself but Morin has appended them to his edition of the rule, as they are found in the oldest manuscript, the Latin Codex of Munich (28118), and the printed edition of the rule in the *Acta sanctorum*.

1. Prayer to be said over the body.
2. Prayers to be said over the grave.

XV. DIRECTIONS FOR FASTING

1. Seasons for fasting: chap. 67.

Pasch to Pentecost: on Fridays (see chap. 66).

Pentecost to September: at the discretion of the abess. September to November: Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

November to Christmas: Every day.

Before Epiphany: seven days before.

Epiphany-tide to the first week of Lent: Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays.

2. Regulations for food and drink: chap. 71.

Fast days: one repast: three dishes

three measures of hot drink for elder sisters

two measures of hot drink for younger sisters

Non-fast days: lunch and dinner: two dishes and two

measures of hot drink for all

Feast days: extra dishes and dessert

Fowl for sick sisters only; flesh meat for the gravely ill only.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOURCES OF THE RULE

For Caesarius the important feature of his Rule was that it rested on the teaching of the Fathers. It began and ended with the reminder: "we have set down holy and spiritual rules as to how you shall live in the monastery according to the prescriptions of the ancient Fathers."¹ Investigation has shown that about one-half the text of the Rule, containing the major portion of its spiritual teachings, has been borrowed from previous monastic sources, and set by Caesarius within the framework of his own thoughts and ideas. The Latin texts of all borrowed passages are given at the end of this chapter with the texts of the works from which they were taken.² Only from the actual comparing of these texts can an accurate notion be obtained of the way in which the Saint used his sources. To illustrate this further, headings identifying the borrowed passages have been added to the text of the translation,³ and finally, for an over-all view, a table has been made, listing Caesarius' sources chapter by chapter.⁴

The "Fathers" from whom he drew directly for the *Rule for Nuns* were Augustine, and the monks and bishops associated with the monastery of Lerins—Cassian for certain, and perhaps, others like Faustus of Riez whose influence is reflected in his sermons. In a very general way the borrowed sections of the Rule group themselves into two juxtaposed units, introduced and concluded by passages original to the *Rule for Nuns*, the latter forming a sort of third unit to the Rule proper. The most clearly recognizable of these units (chaps. 17-35), both in the new eloquence of language and the greater sequence of thought it introduces in the Rule, con-

¹ *Reg. virg.*, I, 5. The thought is repeated in chap. 63 which concludes the Recapitulation, and chap. 65 which Morin designated as one of the final additions to the Rule.

² Pp. 130-53 *infra*.

³ Pp. 170-204 *infra*.

⁴ Pp. 127-20 *infra*.

sists of extended passages from the *Rule of St. Augustine*. The other unit, the first in order in the Rule (chaps. 2-16), can be traced to writings stemming from what will be called the "Lerins tradition." This first part of the Rule consists of a mosaic of excerpts from Cassian's *Institutes* and from Caesarius' own *Rule for Monks*.⁵

In the Rule there is a harmony of Augustinian elements with those of Lerins even while there is separation of the two. As the source table clearly illustrates, borrowings from the Lerins tradition are scattered throughout the so-called Augustinian section of the Rule. This harmony in the monastic teaching of Caesarius is known to be characteristic of all his spiritual teachings, for although he is preeminently a moralist and stresses vigorous personal effort in the spiritual warfare as do the Lerins Fathers, he balances this by an Augustinian reliance on grace.⁶

It is just this harmony in Caesarius, however, raising such questions as the possibility of his having learned Augustine's teachings at Lerins, which emphasizes a larger problem presenting itself to an increasing number of scholars today—what precisely was the content and course of development of the Lerins tradition? Father Leeming has recently pointed to the specific fields of study which need investigation: "... a full account of the library at Lerins, such as we have ... of that of Vivarium"; an account of "what collections of manuscripts existed at Lerins"; and "a much-needed edition of Faustus and of the Pseudo-Eusebius."⁷ Masai and Corbett have opened up new possibilities in the Lerins tradition by affirming that the *Regula Magistri*, in a more primitive form than we now have it, was known at Lerins in the fifth century.⁸

⁵ See the discussion and proofs of these borrowings from Augustine, pp. 107 ff. and from the Lerins tradition, pp. 90 ff.

⁶ de Plinval, "Césaire," *op. cit.*, cols. 191-92.

⁷ Leeming, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁸ F. Masai, "Les antécédentes de Cluny. La Règle du Maître à Montier-Saint-Jean," a *Cluny. Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints Abbés Odon et Odilon, 9-11 juillet, 1949* (Dijon, 1950), 192-202; also "Relazione Franceschini," *Il Monachesimo nell'alto medioevo* ... Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, IV, apr. 8-14, 1956 (Spoleto, 1957), 457-58; P. B. Corbett, "The *Regula Magistri* and Some of Its Problems," *Studia Patristica*, I, 82-90.

A complete knowledge of Caesarius' debt to his sources rests upon this desired clarification of the Lerins tradition. Yet in the very process of this clarification, Caesarius' works must be used as one of the chief sources exemplifying this tradition. Therefore, a more detailed survey of his sources than those in previous studies will be attempted in this chapter; and the unsolved problems of fifth-century monastic history on which this survey touches will be discussed.

Malnory had correctly identified Caesarius' sources over fifty years ago, but he gave little in the way of illustration or proof of his statement.⁹ Lambot has since treated in detail the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns* on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, and his studies have been utilized here to the full. Olphe-Galliard's study of Caesarian, including his brief treatment of Caesarius' verbal dependence, have been used in an attempt to weigh the influence of Cassian's thought on the *Rule for Nuns*. Other aspects of the Lerins tradition have been investigated in whatever studies will help to show the monastic writings and teachings which may have been available to Caesarius as a young monk at Lerins. He was, of course, so familiar with both the Old and New Testament that they were woven into the very fabric of his thought.¹⁰

The Lerins Tradition: The *Rule for Monks* of Caesarius and the "Rule of Lerins"

Caesarius' own *Rule for Monks* is the most obvious source through which the influence of Lerins can be traced in his *Rule for Nuns*. He incorporated most of it in the nuns' Rule, leaving aside only two brief injunctions on corporal punishment and truthfulness, and a figurative passage on the soldier of Christ in the spiritual warfare.¹¹ It gave to the nuns' Rule legislation on stability and on the cloister,¹² and directions for some parts of the Office and for

⁹ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10; 260-61.

¹⁰ Lejay has treated some aspects of the problem of the various Scripture texts used by Caesarius: "Notes d'ancienne littérature chrétienne: Les sermons de Césaire d'Arles," *Revue biblique*, IV (1895), 593-610.

¹¹ *Reg. mon.*, Opera II, 150, ll. 17-19; 150, 1-2; 152, ll. 8-24.

¹² *Reg. mon.*, 149, ll. 11-12; 150. 1-31; 151, ll. 27-28. These passages, and

fasting.¹³ It outlined a plan of renunciation of the world and its vices, and of the acquisition of virtue, especially of poverty,¹⁴ humility,¹⁵ obedience,¹⁶ and fraternal charity;¹⁷ and it ruled on the regularity and discipline required by the common life even to the wearing of monastic garb.¹⁸

Although no record exists of the circumstances under which it was composed, the *Rule for Monks* has generally been regarded as anterior to the *Rule for Nuns*. Lambot has conjectured that it was written after Caesarius presided over the Council of Agde in 506, since the Council's canons of monastic reform make no mention of an established rule for monks. Lambot and Malnory both note that its authoritative tone indicates that it was written after Caesarius became bishop in 502. Malnory adds that Caesarius probably composed the first draft when, shortly after leaving Lerins, he presided for more than three years as abbot over a suburban monastery of Arles to restore discipline and fervor.¹⁹ There is a possibility, as Malnory, Lambot, and Weigel have suggested, that the *Rule for Monks* is Caesarius' codification of the Lerins tradition.²⁰ This theory is quite plausible, but one must admit of a few additions by Caesarius—that of the precept of stability,²¹ and perhaps the brief excerpts from the *Rule of St. Augustine*.²² It is as a

those listed in the following notes, can be found at the end of this chapter in parallel columns with the *Rule for Nuns*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 149, l. 12; 150, ll. 1-11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 151, ll. 3-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 150, ll. 22-23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 151, ll. 5-6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 150, ll. 13-14, 26-30; 151, ll. 1-2, 25-26; 152, ll. 1-3.

¹⁹ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 261-62; Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-53, and p. 25. See also *Vita I*, 12, 301.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, and G. Weigel, S. J., *Faustus of Riez* (Phila., 1938), p. 32. Lambot (cols. 261, 272) does not think that the rules and customs of Lerins were ever codified in a written form.

²¹ Malnory, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

²² *Reg. mon.*, 150, ll. 26-30; 151, ll. 5-6, 27-28; 152, l. 4. These passages are shown at the end of the Chapter with the passages from the *Rule of St. Augustine* from which both they and the *Rule for Nuns* are drawn. Besse, *op. cit.*, p. 53, assumes that the passages were drawn from the *Rule of St. Augustine*. They may show Caesarius' additions to the "Rule of

possible "Lerins Rule" that Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* is considered here as a source for the *Rule for Nuns*.

Against the theory of origin of the *Rule for Monks* given above, it might be suggested that it is merely a series of excerpts from the *Rule for Nuns* made by a compiler after the time of Caesarius, perhaps even as late as Benedict of Aniane. Manuscript evidence, however, offers no support for this. Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* was found in two manuscripts, one from the eighth and one from the ninth century, both independent of the ninth-century manuscript of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* which contains the earliest extant text of Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns*. The *incipits* of both manuscripts of the *Rule for Monks* ascribe it to Caesarius, and note that it was transmitted after his death to "various monasteries" by his nephew, the priest Teridius.²³

It is possible to reconstruct much of the content of the monastic tradition of Lerins from the writings of those associated with it in the fifth century.²⁴ In Faustus,²⁵ Eucherius,²⁶ and Porcarius,²⁷ one

Lerins," or they may possibly have been part of this "rule." Recent scholars maintain that Augustine may have been studied at Lerins to a greater extent than was formerly thought by those who have concentrated on the semi-Pelagian controversy.

²³ Lambot, "Césaire," cols. 202-03; see p. 47, n. 55 *supra* for further information on these manuscripts. The *incipit* reads as follows:

Reg. mon., Opera II, 149: "Incipit regula a sancto Teridio presbytero nepute beatae memoriae sancti Caesare episcopi Arelatensis abbate mea Caesario dixit ipse dictatam. Quam dum esset sacerdos ipse per diversa monasteria transmittebat.

²⁴ This has been done most recently by L. Cristiani in *Lerins et ses Fondateurs* (1940).

²⁵ Engelbrecht attempted to edit the works of Faustus, monk of Lerins and afterwards bishop of Riez, in vol. XXI of the CSEL (1891). However, scholars since his time have rejected the authenticity of most of the thirty-one sermons he attributed to Faustus. They have, in turn, tended to assign to Faustus many of the sermons of the "Gallican-Eusebius" discussed below (see n. 20). From these, and from the more-surely authentic works of Faustus, *De gratia*, *De spiritu sancto*, and *Epistolae*, scholars such as Leeming (*op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.) have been able to show that the ascetical teachings of Faustus represented those of the Lerins tradition. Leeming traces the semi-Pelagian elements in Faustus.

²⁶ Eucherii sancti Lugdunensis episcopi *De laude heremi*, ed. C. Wotke, CSEL, XXXI (Vienna, 1894), 186, 192-93.

finds the same intense moral earnestness concerning the spiritual warfare and absolute renunciation of the world that are found in Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*. These characteristics, and others notable in Caesarius, especially a strongly eschatological orientation, are also present in a group of seventy-five homilies of the so-called "Gallican Eusebius."²⁸ The authorship of these homilies has been the subject of much scholarly research from the seventeenth century to the present day; almost consistently throughout the varying theories of authorship they have been ascribed to someone associated with the Lerins tradition. Morin has shown their influence on Caesarius' sermons, and scholars have even ascribed some of the homilies to Caesarius, but the majority of studies, including those of Morin, now tend to assign the authorship of most of the homilies to Faustus.²⁹ In a group of ten of these homilies preached to monks can be traced the basic teachings of Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*.³⁰ The earnest exhortations in the homilies concerning stability³¹ is strengthened into a precept in Caesarius' rule, but there are no contradictions in the monastic teachings of the two. In Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns*, much longer than his monks' rule, further parallels could perhaps be traced with the monastic homi-

²⁷ Porcarii *Monita*, ed. A. Wilmart, *Rev. hén.*, XXVI (1909), 477-80.

²⁸ Eusebii Gallicani *Homiliae LXXV*, Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum, VI (Lyons, 1677), 618-86.

²⁹ Sr. Marie Sainte-Chrétienne L'Heureux, P.M., has recently made a detailed survey of studies on these homilies especially the ten addressed to monks: "Pseudo-Eusebius: Homiliae ad Monachos I-IV. Translated with an Introduction and a Commentary." Unpublished master's dissertation, Dept. of Greek and Latin, Catholic University of America, Washington, 1958. She notes that the weight of opinion assigns many of the homilies to Faustus. This is the conclusion of Leeming (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-40) who has also surveyed scholarship on the problem. Beck (*op. cit.*, pp. xxvi, xxvii); E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, *Sacris Erudini*, III (1951), 961-77; and B. Altaner, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Freiburg, 1958), have noted the status of the study on Faustus' works.

³⁰ These ten homilies are printed with the authentic works of Eucherius of Lyons in PL, I (Paris, 1865), 833-59. Cf. the summary which Sr. M. Sainte-Chrétienne gives of their content, p. 40 ff., with the summary presented here, pp. 90-91 *supra*, of the content of Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*.

³¹ *Homiliae III*, col. 837; V, col. 840 in PL, I.

lies of the Gallican Eusebius.³² However, one must beware of overdrawing lines of interrelationship between the writings in the Lerins tradition to the exclusion of a possible direct dependence of each on Cassian and perhaps some versions of the *Vitae Patrum*. Studies on the formation and transmission of *exempla* and the process by which terminology acquired a special meaning in monastic tradition, may, in the future, clarify the study of the relationship between all early rules.³³ If there is any one point which seems more characteristic of the homilies to monks of the Gallican Eusebius and of Caesarius' rules and sermons, than of Cassian's writings, it is their constant reminder of the imminence and importance of judgment and heaven.

Since Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* is studied here as a source for his nuns' Rule chiefly because of its identification with whatever there was of a "Rule of Lerins," external evidence concerning this latter rule should be examined. Three of the homilies of the Gallican Eusebius, apparently preached to the monks of Lerins, speak of a rule.³⁴ In the *Rule for Nuns*, Caesarius tells us that its Ordo is "ex maxima parte secundum regulam monasterii Lyriensis."³⁵ This Ordo is an extended form of the directions for Office in his *Rule for Monks*. Caesarius' biographers supply the information that after he had left Lerins and was about to become abbot of the monastery in the suburbs of Arles, "permanebat monachus . . . numquam . . . instituta Lirinensium vel modicum subrelinquens."³⁶ Direct references to a Rule of Lerins can be multiplied from documents before and after Caesarius. Courtois

³² See, e.g., the emphasis on the devil as the great enemy of the religious in *Homiliae* III, V, VI, VIII, IX; the exhortations to the monks to devote their time to the praise of God, at the beginning of *Homilia* VI, and to pray for the world, in *Homilia* IV; and to be devoted to frequent fasts and vigils, in *Homiliae* II, III, IV, VI, VIII, IX; PL, L, 833-59, *passim*.
³³ The work of Lorie cited on p. 79, n. 159, on spiritual terminology; and of Hausherr (discussed on pp. 79-80) on *opus dei*, have contributed to this field of study. Jean Leclercq, O. S. B., *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris, 1957), endeavors to study terms and some of the themes in monastic tradition stemming from the Patristic era.

³⁴ *Homiliae* III, col. 840B, V, col. 847B, IX, col. 855B, in PL, L.

³⁵ *Reg. virg.*, 66, 22.

³⁶ *Vita* I, 11, 300.

cites a passage from the third council of Arles (454) as referring to Lerins: "regula, quae a fundatore ipsius monasterii dudum constituta est, in omnibus custodita."³⁷ He also notes references cited by Arnold: Eucherius, one of the first disciples of the founder Honoratus speaks of the "instituta" of his monastery,³⁸ while Sidonius mentions the "statuta Lirinensium patrum."³⁹ Finally the seventh-century biographer of Caesarius' contemporary, Abbot John of Reome, speaks of the "regularis disciplinae normam" which John found on his visit to Lerins.⁴⁰

The reverence Caesarius maintained throughout his life for the monastic home of his youth supplies a final bit of evidence that he must have preserved its teaching in his rules. Preaching to the monks of Lerins as bishop of Arles, he exclaimed:

O happy and blessed habitation of this island, where the glory of the Savior Lord is daily increased by such holy and spiritual gains, and the wickedness of the devil threatened by such great condemnations! Blessed, I say, and happy island of Lerins, which, while it seems to be small and flat, is known to have raised to the skies innumerable mountains. This it is which has reared distinguished monks and has sent most eminent priests throughout the provinces; and thus those whom it received as sons, it returns as fathers; and those whom it has nourished as little ones, it returns as great ones; those whom it has taken in as beginners, it returns as kings. For all whomsoever that blessed and happy habitation receives, Christ lifts on the wings of charity and humility to highest summits of virtue.⁴¹

The Lerins Tradition: The *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Macarii*

Since Vanderhoven, Masai, and Corbett,⁴² one of the many groups

³⁷ Courtois, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 40, citing *Mansi*, VII, 908, D. Courtois also gives the references in the notes immediately following here.

³⁸ Eucherii, *op. cit.*, 42, 192.

³⁹ Apollinaris Sidonii *Epistularum liber vii*, 17, MGH, *anc. ant.* VIII (Berlin, 1887), 124.

⁴⁰ *Ionaue Vita Johannis abbatis Reomacensis*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS. *rer. Merov.*, III (Hannover, 1886), 508.

⁴¹ *Sermo CCXXVI; Opera*, II, 894.

⁴² H. Vanderhoven, O. S. B., F. Masai, and P. B. Corbett, eds. *Aux sources*

of scholars currently studying the problem of the origin of the *Regula Magistri*, have associated it at least indirectly with the Lerins tradition in the fifth century, it will be considered briefly in connection with the sources of Caesarius. No positive evidence of its direct influence on the *Rule for Nuns* is apparent at present. Studies on the *Regula Magistri* extend far beyond the scope of this study to the problem of the authorship of large portions of the *Rule of St. Benedict* which also appear in the *Regula Magistri*.⁴³ Only a few points which touch the rules of Caesarius will be dealt with here. Corbett has written to show that the *Regula Magistri*, in a more primitive form than it appears in the Holste-Brockie edition in Migne, or in the new diplomatic edition of its earliest complete manuscript (ca. 600), was put together early in the fifth century from elements that reveal both Spanish and Gallic, and perhaps Italian origin.⁴⁴ Masai has established good evidence to show that it was being used at Lerins under the name of the *Rule*

du monachisme benédictin: La Règle du Maître. Édition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 et 12634 de Paris. Vol. III of Les Publications de Scriptorium (Brussels, 1953).

⁴³ Bibliography on the *Regula Magistri* is very extensive. Fortunately, scholars have from time to time summed up the status of the study giving full bibliography. One of the most recent and thorough of these summaries is: G. Penco, O. S. B., "Origine e sviluppi della questione della *Regula Magistri*," *Antonius Magnus Eremita*, 356-1956. *Studia Anselmiana philosophica theologica*, fasc. XXXVIII (Rome, 1956), 283-306. E. Franceschini's paper, "La questione della Regola di S. Benedetto," in the *Settimane . . . di studi sull' alto medioevo*, IV (Spoleto, 1957), 221-48, summarizes some of the major problems still to be solved. C. Smith, "The Problem of the Rule of the Master," *The Buckfast Abbey Chronicle*, XXVII (1957), 84-91, summarizes the studies of the last twenty years though without bibliography. Earlier bibliographical surveys can be found in O. Chadwick, *John Cassian, A Study in Primitive Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 109; and O. J. Zimmerman, O. S. B., "The *Regula Magistri*: The Primitive Rule of St. Benedict," *The American Benedictine Review*, I (1950), 11-16.

As Dom Smith points out in his survey (pp. 89-91), the leading groups at present in the study seem to be 1) Cappuyns and Vandenbroucke, holding that the Rule of St. Benedict was written first, as opposed to, 2) Genestout, Vanderhoven, Masai, and Corbett holding that the *Regula Magistri* was written first.

⁴⁴ P. B. Corbett, "The *Regula Magistri* and Some of Its Problems," *Studia Patristica* I, 82-90.

of *Macarius* when Abbot John of Reome, contemporary with Caesarius, went there early in the sixth century. Masai does not hold that this early text of the *Regula Magistri*, under the name of *Macarius*, originated at Lerins, but he insists it was known there before the sixth century. He cites as further evidence the fact attested to by Eucherius of the Lerins cult of *Macarius*: Eucherius notes that St. John the Baptist and *Macarius* were the two Saints held in particular honor at Lerins.⁴⁵

If the *Regula Magistri* were a source for the *Rule of St. Benedict* and if it were known at Lerins at the end of the fifth century then it could be in some way a source for Caesarius' Rules. It might prove to be the common source for a few points in which the bishop of Arles was formerly considered to have influenced Benedict. The *Regula Magistri*, taken as a source, would give to both Caesarius and Benedict the term *opus dei* for Divine Office,⁴⁶ and also the principle of stability—"usque ad mortem in monasterio perseverantes."⁴⁷ Most of the citations Butler gives for the influence of the Rules of Caesarius on Benedict can be traced as instances of dependence of the former on the *Regula Magistri*—if it really originated in the fifth century.⁴⁸ Scholars have noted a significant parallel between Caesarius' Rule and the *Regula Magistri*, beyond those associated with Benedict. Twice in the *Rule for Nuns* and also, twelve times in his sermons, Caesarius cited as Scripture a text from the apocryphal *Visio Pauli* which also appears twice in the *Regula Magistri*—"impedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Masai, "Les antécédents de Cluny. La Règle du Maître à Moustiers-Saint-Jean," *op. cit.*, 192-202; and "Relazione Franceschini," *op. cit.*, pp. 457-63.

⁴⁶ *Regula Magistri*, PL, LXXXVIII (Paris, 1852), 978C, 979B, 1025D, *Reg. virg.*, 12, 7; 15, 8. *Reg. mon.*, p. 151, l. 1. *Regula Benedicti*, 7, 39; 22, 58 and many other references: see Butler's *Index verborum*, p. 202, for these latter.

⁴⁷ *Regula Magistri*, *op. cit.*, 948. *Reg. virg.*, 2, 6. *Reg. mon.*, p. 149, ll. 11-12. *Regula Benedicti*, "Prologus," p. 8.

⁴⁸ Butler, ed. *Sancti Benedicti Regula monasteriorum*, pp. 190-91.

⁴⁹ *Reg. virg.*, 5, 6; 52, 19; for the Sermons see Morin's Indices, *Opera* I, part ii, 1010; *Regula Magistri*, *op. cit.*, 1004B, 1034A. Morin searched vainly for the source of this passage leaving a final note in his *Opera* II (p. 394) that he judged it must have come from an apocryphal text. He

Studies of the *Regula Magistri* will continue to be of interest to those concerned with the *Rule for Nuns*, particularly for the light they will throw on Lerins, but at present there seems to be no more significant relationship between the texts of the two rules than the basic similarity in thought and expression common to many early monastic texts.

One final point, however, remains to be noted, on which Masai's studies have touched those related to the *Rule for Nuns*. He investigated a short rule found in the *Codex regularum* under the title of *Regula Macarii*,⁵⁰ which Arnold had cited as a source for Caesarius, thinking it to be the Rule which John of Reome found at Lerins.⁵¹ Masai undertook to demonstrate that this would-be "source" for Caesarius is instead a mere condensation of a longer rule written at a later date than the Rule of Caesarius was written. The *Regula Macarii*, according to Masai, is a résumé of the *Regula Magistri* in one of its early stages of development when it bore the name of *Regula Macarii* and was known under that name at Lerins. It shows that state in which the *Regula Magistri* is found in a seventh-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Latin manuscript 12205, that is, including the Rule of the four Fathers Macarius, Serapion, Paphnutius, and the other Macarius.⁵² This theory, of course, eliminates Arnold's theory, and it is accepted here as the more probable. Nevertheless, since four short chapters of the *Regula Macarii* exhibit close verbal parallels with the *Rule for Nuns*,⁵³ and one with the *Rule for Monks* also, they have been included in the parallel texts. They illustrate, possibly, elements of a common monastic tradition well known by the sixth century and after.

noted its occurrence in the *Regula Magistri*. The passage was finally identified by Dom B. Fischer, O. S. B., in "Impedimenta mundi fecerunt miseros," *Vigiliae christianae*, V (1951), 84-7, as a text from the apocryphal *Visio Pauli*. The most recent study of the *Visio Pauli* is: T. Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli*. Studies and Documents, Vol. IV (Ed. K. Lake and S. Lake, London, 1935).

⁵⁰ *Regula Macarii*, PL, CIII (Paris, 1804), 440-52.

⁵¹ Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 507, 513.

⁵² F. Masai, "Les antécédents de Chhny. La Règle du Maître à Montiers-Saint-Jean," *op. cit.*, 192-202.

⁵³ *Regula Macarii*, *op. cit.*, chaps. 15, 16, 17, col. 448; chap. 30, cols. 451-52. Chap. 16 also parallels *Reg. mon.*, II, 3-4, p. 151.

The Lerins Tradition: Cassian

Contemporary scholars have made a significant restudy of Cassian—of the entire setting of spirituality and monasticism in which he should be viewed, and of the problematic details of his life and writings. While confirming the opinion of older scholars that his *De institutis coenobiorum*⁵⁴ and *Conlationes*⁵⁵ constitute important formative influences on Western monasticism, they have defined more clearly than ever before what the specific contribution of these works was. Cassian's writings, they show, were the first to transmit and adapt to western monasticism both a system and a synthesis of spirituality, as it had been formulated for the East by Origen and his disciple Evagrius. Taken together these works trace the full path of religious life from the reform of external habits (*Inst.*, books I-IV), through the conversion of the interior man (*Inst.*, books V-XII), to union with God through the contemplative life (*Conlationes*, I-XXIV). It was Cassian's genius as a publicist and populariser to have seen the value of putting on the lips of the heroic ascetics and mystics of the desert the principles of spirituality he wished to teach, recognizing that the fame of their lives would lend conviction to Origenist and Evagrian theology.⁵⁶

What must be investigated here is the extent to which Caesarius drew on Cassian for the *Rule for Nuns*. There is every reason to believe that Caesarius should have been familiar with Cassian's works from his training at Lerins. Honoratus and Eucherius of

⁵⁴ Cassiani Johannis *De institutis*, *op. cit.* (hereafter cited as *Inst.*).

⁵⁵ Cassiani Johannis *Conlationes* XXIV, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL, XIII (Vienna, 1886).

⁵⁶ M. Olphe-Galliard, S. J., "Cassien (Jean)." *DSAM*, II (Paris, 1953), 214-76 (in fasc. vii and viii [1937-38]), stresses the points noted above. They have been restressed in: L. Cristiani, *Jean Cassien* (2 vols., Paris, 1946); M. Cappuyns, O. S. B., "Cassien (Jean)," *DHG*, XI (1949), 1319-48; and O. Chadwick, *John Cassian. A Study in Primitive Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1950). For Cassian as a populariser of monastic tradition, see Olphe-Galliard, *op. cit.*, col. 206; and Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 48. E. Pichery's introduction to his edition of some of the *Conlationes* (*Conferences* VIII-XVII, No. 54 of *Sources chrétiennes*, ed. H. de Lubac, S. J. and J. Daniélou, S. J. [Paris, 1958]), summarizes the main points of the recent studies, especially those of Olphe-Galliard and Cappuyns. Dom Pichery notes (p. iii) that his edition is substantially that of the CSEL.

Lerins were among the first to be influenced by the complete system of monastic spirituality offered by Cassian in the name of the Fathers of the desert whom they revered; and thus, early in the fifth century this Gallic monastery became one of the first agents in the transmission of his doctrines.⁵⁷ The works of Faustus, the Lerins monk who became bishop of Riez, witness to the continued influence of Cassian at Lerins past the mid-fifth century;⁵⁸ and for the turn of the century in Caesarius' time, we have the report of the biographer of Abbot John of Reome that John knew the *Institutes* in his years of training at Lerins.⁵⁹

To what extent does the *Rule for Nuns* exhibit direct dependence on Cassian? Olphe-Galliard, it seems, was the first to attempt to trace this, finding direct dependence only on a few passages of the first four books of the *Institutes*, and even in these, verbal dependence is not too great. Some of the passages he cited are shown in this study among the parallel texts of the two works, pp. 130-38 *infra*. They include chapters dealing with the admission and probation of candidates,⁶⁰ with poverty and the common life,⁶¹ and with punishment for tardiness in coming to Divine Office.⁶² The dependence of chapters of Caesarius on Cassian providing for the turns of the members of the community at household duties and

⁵⁷ Cassian introduced the second of his three groups of Conferences (XVII) united in the book of the *Conlationes* (XXIV in all) with a dedicatory preface to Honoratus and Eucherius of Lerins who had asked for the Conferences: "... O sancti fratres Honorate et Eucherii, tanta illorum sublimium viorum, a quibus prima anachoreticos instituta suscepimus, laude flammamini, ut unus quidem vestrum ingenti fratribus coenobio praesidens congregationem suam, quae cotidiano sanctae conversationis vestrae docetur intuitu, illorum quoque patrum praeceptis optet institui, ..." (*Conlationes*, *op. cit.*, p. 311). For the influence of Cassian on Lerins, see also Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁵⁸ Olphe-Galliard, "Cassian," *op. cit.*, col. 267; A. Engelbrecht, ed. CSEL, XXI (Vienna, 1891), 71-78.

⁵⁹ *Ionae Vita Johannis abbatis Reomacensis*, *op. cit.*, 508, 509, 516. Olphe-Galliard, "Cassian," *op. cit.*, col. 269.

⁶⁰ *Reg. virg.*, 4, 0; *Inst.*, IV, 3, 7.

⁶¹ *Reg. virg.*, 9, 7; *Inst.*, IV, 13, 15.

⁶² *Reg. virg.*, 12, 7; *Inst.*, III, 7. Olphe-Galliard ("Cassian," *op. cit.*, col. 267) notes especially the phrase "increpationi subiciendus" which Caesarius took from Cassian.

for the care of the goods of the monastery⁶³ has been added here to Olphe-Galliard's citations, since these chapters have been found to exhibit a close dependence on the *Institutes*, and they have been traced to no other source.

Olphe-Galliard cited dependence of chaps. 18, 20, 21 of the *Rule for Nuns*, on passages of the *Institutes* dealing with parallel exhortations on reading and conduct at table, on prayer and recollection, and on renunciation of goods and humility proper to the common life.⁶⁴ While there is no doubt of parallelism in content between these chapters of the *Rule for Nuns* and chapters of the *Institutes*, they cannot be shown as instances of direct dependence, because the *Rule for Nuns* here shows unmistakably a closer dependence on what Caesarius knew as the *Rule of St. Augustine*.⁶⁵ But these citations introduce us to the very important subject of Caesarius' indirect dependence on Cassian—to the possibility that beyond mere verbal dependence there may be many points in the *Rule*—in the Lerins section, among the Augustinian excerpts, and in the sections mostly original to Caesarius—which are based on a thorough knowledge of Cassian. Two factors already noted suggest this: first, that Caesarius himself as bishop testified to his great admiration for the spiritual training given him at Lerins, a training which as far as can be known fostered the study of Cassian.⁶⁶ Secondly, that the convent in Marseilles to which Caesarius sent his sister for monastic training was probably the convent of Holy Savior founded by Cassian a century before for his sister.⁶⁷

It is possible that the Lerins section of the *Rule*, that "mosaic" of excerpts from Cassian and Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*, up to chap. 17 where the Augustinian excerpts begin,⁶⁸ may have been the first draft of the *Rule* which Caesarius gave his nuns in 512.⁶⁹

⁶³ *Reg. virg.*, 14, 3; 32, 12; *Inst.*, IV, 19.

⁶⁴ *Inst.*, IV, 17; II, 15; IV, 3, 4, 7.

⁶⁵ *Ordo monasterii*, 6, 7, 9, p. 319; *Regula Augustini*, 5, p. 320. See compared texts, pp. 136-38, *infra*.

⁶⁶ See pp. 29 f. and 94 f. *supra*.

⁶⁷ See p. 68, n. 14, *supra*.

⁶⁸ The source table (pp. 127-29) and the headings inserted in the translation (pp. 170-75) illustrate this dependence.

⁶⁹ *Reg. virg.*, 1, 5; 48, 18.

One can find all of the subject matter of chaps. 2-16, in Books I-IV, of the *Institutes*, for they deal with the same type of external disciplinary regulations which Cassian expounded at much greater length in the first part of the *Institutes*. This is not to say that Cassian always found his rules ready-made in the *Institutes*, but that he shows evidence of familiarity with the subject matter Cassian presented in Books I-IV, as basic for the cenobitic life. Thus Cassian treats of the great virtue of persevering in the common life of the monastery—Caesarius explicitly rules that all will remain in the monastery till death; Cassian discourses at length on the corrosive effect of personal possession on the spiritual life of the monk—Caesarius provides a law that all shall dispose of their property by a written document. These indirect parallels with the *Institutes* have been noted with the texts of chaps. 2-16 to suggest a "Cassian framework" for this section.⁷⁰

Since these pages of compared texts show that the *Rule for Monks* of Caesarius does not exhibit all the direct or indirect parallels found in the *Rule for Nuns*, with Books I-IV of the *Institutes*, they permit another conjecture as to the way in which Cassian may have influenced the nuns' Rule. Is it possible that Caesaria brought back from Holy Savior a "Rule of Cassian" of some kind, compiled either by herself, or by the foundress or superiors of Holy Savior, from Books I-IV of the *Institutes*? In the concluding chapters of the Rule Caesarius speaks of himself and "your holy mothers" as "the authors of the Rule."⁷¹ Some scholars hold that there must have been a *Regula Cassiani*. The only one extant has been shown to be the work of an eighth-century compiler, and thus could not have been a source for Caesarius. But it is significant that the anonymous author who drew on Cassian for a Rule, drew as Caesarius did, on Books I-IV of the *Institutes*.⁷²

⁷⁰ These points are illustrated in the parallel texts.

⁷¹ *Reg. virg.*, 72, 26.

⁷² Cappuyns, *op. cit.*, col. 1328, and Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, treat of the *Regula Cassiani* which is extant, and cite Plenker's (*op. cit.*, pp. 70-84) study on it. Chadwick states that the text of this *Regula Cassiani* is to be found in Plenker's study, but Cappuyns notes more correctly that Plenker printed only a part of the text, those chapters from the two extant mss. which are not included in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia*

What of the dependence of other sections of the *Rule for Nuns* on Cassian—on the remaining eight books of the *Institutes* and on the *Conferences*? As anyone who has read them knows, they contain, though not in an ordered fashion, a veritable encyclopedia of monastic customs and ideas, and it would be strange not to find some recurring in Caesarius. He adopted Cassian's division of the community into *seniores* and *juniores*.⁷³ He followed him in utilizing the dramatic story of Ananias and Saphira to urge complete renunciation.⁷⁴ Perhaps it was from him that he took the term *ruminatio* to characterize prayerful recollection.⁷⁵ He echoes Cassian's reverence for the *institutio patrum*,⁷⁶ and, like Cassian, looked back to the first Christian community of Jerusalem as the cradle of monastic life. This last point was a common theme in early monastic literature. Although Caesarius borrowed directly from the rule of Augustine on the common life as practiced by the first Christians, he may have learned it first at Lerins through Cassian's writings.⁷⁷ There are many points in common in the

regularum. Dekkers and Gaar (*Clavis Patrum Latinorum* # 1874) note that the *Regula Cassiani* is from the eighth century, perhaps from Spain.

⁷³ *Reg. virg.*, 2, 5; 4, 6; 8, 7. *Inst.*, IV, 7, 9; VI, 18, 20; VII, 13; XII, 32; *Conlationes* I-X, "Praefatio," p. 6; *Conlationes* XVIII-XXIV, "Praefatio," p. 504.

⁷⁴ *Reg. virg.*, 6, 7; *Inst.*, VII; *Conlationes* XVIII, 5, 7 and XXI, 30. See the note in the Translation for chap. 6.

⁷⁵ *Reg. virg.*, 22, 9; (see also the note in the Translation for chap. 22); *Conlatio* XI, 15, 332; XIV, 13, 416.

⁷⁶ *Reg. virg.*, 1, 5; 63, 21; 65, 22. For Cassian the phrase was so expressive he made it the title of his twelve books on the ascetical aspect of the monastic life. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 48, has noted its significance. It recurs in the *Conferences*; see, e.g., the Preface to *Conlationes* XVIII-XXIV, p. 504.

⁷⁷ *Inst.*, II, 5; VII, 17, 18, 25; *Conlationes*, XIV, 6; XVII, 5, 7; XXI, 30. *Reg. Aug.*, *op. cit.*, 5, 320, shows that the first Christian community of Jerusalem was Augustine's model for monastic life; he also brings this out very clearly in *Sermones* 355 and 356 (ed. C. Lambot, O.S.B. in *Sermones selecti XVIII* [Utrecht, 1950], pp. 123-43). *Reg. virg.*, 20-21, 9, borrows from *Reg. Aug.*, 5.

In his account of his conversion Augustine tells of the great influence on him of the Fathers of the desert: *Confessionum liber VIII* (Ed. P. Kröll, Vienna, 1896), chap. 6. In *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, chap. xxxi, 67 (*Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, ed. F. Cayré and F. Von Steenberghen, series I,

monastic teaching of Augustine and Cassian. Scholars today caution against drawing the lines of division too sharply between Augustine and Cassian, and of over-stressing the semi-Pelagian elements in Cassian.⁷⁸ Caesarius preferred Augustine to all the other Fathers and adopted his doctrine of grace to the exclusion of Cassian's,⁷⁹ but his Rule shows that on many points he could draw harmonious inspiration from both Fathers.

For one of his most fundamental ideas Caesarius seems to have drawn from what was central in the doctrine of Cassian rather than Augustine: the notion of the perfection of religious life as strictly cloistered from the world and devoted entirely to contemplative prayer.⁸⁰ Caesarius allowed no external works of charity for his community of nuns—they were not to receive children for schooling,⁸¹ they were not even to prepare repasts for visitors,⁸² and the alms of their monastery were to be dispensed by the provisor.⁸³ Cassian has been criticized in recent studies devoted to him, for this very ideal in which he seems to have influenced Caesarius. Professor Chadwick accuses Cassian of teaching an individualist pursuit of self-perfection, and a selfish striving after a life of contemplation to the exclusion of a life of active social service for the Mystical Body.⁸⁴ Dom Griffiths, although affirming the orthodox

opuscule 1) Augustine praises monks and nuns whose lives were modeled on those of the desert Fathers.

O. Rousseau (*Monachisme et vie religieuse d'après l'ancienne tradition de l'Église* [Chevetogne, 1957], pp. 71-88) has provided a convenient summary of the influence of the Christian community of Jerusalem on early monasticism.

⁷⁸ Olphe-Galliard, "Cassien," *op. cit.*, cols. 286-87; B. Capelle, *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* III, 735, agrees with Olphe-Galliard that Cassian's Conference XIII has been overstressed to attempt to prove his semi-Pelagianism. Chadwick (*op. cit.*, p. 134) cautions against overstressing the division. *Inst.* II, 3; and IV, 4, are examples of the many points of monastic doctrine in which Cassian shows a likeness to Augustine. See *Reg. Aug.*, 5, 320.

⁷⁹ Olphe-Galliard, "Cassien," *op. cit.*, 287; Fritz, *op. cit.*, col. 1006.

⁸⁰ Olphe-Galliard, "Cassien," *op. cit.*, cols. 250-264. Cappuyns (*op. cit.*, col. 1341) notes Cassian's stress on the contemplative aspect of monastic life.

⁸¹ *Reg. virg.*, 7, 7. ⁸² *Ibid.*, 39-40, 14-15.

⁸³ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-109; pp. 178-183.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 42, 15.

of Cassian on the contemplative life, finds his doctrine of withdrawal from the world counter to the emphasis of the Church's teaching for today on the need for the apostolic man of prayer to "penetrate" the world. Griffiths seems to warn especially against the danger of the layman's applying to himself Cassian's doctrine of "withdrawal."⁸⁵ One would agree with Griffiths that Cassian's teachings have been misapplied, but there is no evidence that Cassian himself intended his teachings on "withdrawal" for any other than that selected group who felt themselves called by God to devote themselves to a life of contemplation. Dom Sillem and Father Olphe-Galliard have both interpreted Cassian's writings on the contemplative life in this light. Sillem wrote to answer Chadwick's more serious criticisms: "It is precisely in the theology of the Mystical Body that the specialization of function which underlies the contemplative and even the eremitical life finds its justification."⁸⁶ Olphe-Galliard dealt with this problem some years ago in his study of Cassian. He cited Cassian's own statement of his doctrine in the *Conferences*—the warning that all were not called to flee to the desert, and that the contemplative monk must seek the heights of prayer without diminishing his charity toward men. He also cited Cassian's teaching that the Church lives out the perfection of Christ divided among his members, and that no monk might expect to shine in all the virtues.⁸⁷

Assuming the hypothesis that Caesarius was influenced by Cassian in his contemplative ideal, it will be helpful to examine Caesarius' doctrine of this ideal and its relation to the Mystical Body, to see how one who lived at Lerins within a century of Cassian interpreted his doctrines. In the forty years of his own intensely apostolic episcopate, Caesarius was indefatigable in the practice of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, and he preached this obligation incessantly to his flock as members of the Mystical Body. Yet

⁸⁵ B. Griffiths, O. S. B., "John Cassian," *The Month*, CCVII, No. 1102 (June, 1959), 348-62; see especially pp. 347, 350-58, 381-82.

⁸⁶ A. Sillem, O. S. B., "A New Study of John Cassian," the *Downside Review*, LXIX (1961), 340. Dom Sillem deals ably with Chadwick's attacks on Cassian pp. 336-42.

⁸⁷ Olphe-Galliard, "Cassien," *op. cit.*, cols. 229, 234; he cites *Contationes*, XXIV, 8; XIX, 8, 9; XIV, 5.

for him these were the means by which the Mystical Body might achieve its end in each soul—union with, and praise and service of, God.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, some were called to work directly and immediately toward this end here on earth both for themselves and others. Caesarius exhorted the nuns, as they abode in the monastery, to implore the "visitation of the Son of God" and to obtain for him from their Heavenly Spouse his eternal salvation.⁸⁹ He made clear to the nuns their special function in the Mystical Body:

Holy virgins dedicated to God ought rather to pray for all people, leaving all for Christ, than to provide feasts for the body. . . .⁹⁰ No one should presume to sponsor in baptism a child of anyone at all . . . ; for she who for the love of God has disdained the freedom to have children of her own ought not to wish for nor possess this freedom belonging to others; so that without any hindrance she may give her time unceasingly to God.⁹¹

Far from feeling that his nuns were failing in their service of the Mystical Body through the pursuit of a purely contemplative ideal, the founder himself,⁹² and also his fellow-bishops,⁹³ and the Pope who approved his foundation,⁹⁴ regarded the nuns as a precious adornment of the diocese of Arles and a strong spiritual fortification for the city. If Cassian taught Caesarius the ideal of the cloistered contemplative life, then he supplied the zealous bishop of Arles with one of his strongest means of serving the Mystical Body. Clearly, Caesarius interpreted Cassian as have Olphe-Galliard and Sillcem. There may well be justification for the criticism that constant emphasis on the individual and his efforts, and on the psychological problems he encounters in the pursuit of perfection, obscures the force and purity of Cassian's ideal of the contemplative life. This point would seem to demand further study. But there seems to be no doubt of the fact that Caesarius, who may have been influenced by Cassian, was able to give simple and forcible expression to the Church's doctrine of the contemplative life.

⁸⁸ See especially *Sermones* I-LXXX, *Opera* I, part I.

⁸⁹ *Reg. virg.*, I, 6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 40, 15.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 11, 7.

⁹² *Reg. virg.*, I, 5; 72, 26.

⁹³ Cyprian, Firminus and Viventius wrote book I of the *Vita* of Caesarius.

See *Vita* I, 35, 310 for their account of the foundation of the community.

⁹⁴ Hormisdas, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

The Rule of St. Augustine

The *Rule for Nuns* exhibits a weightier dependence on the *Rule of St. Augustine* than on any other source. The reader soon becomes conscious that, after chapter 17, and especially from chapters 20 to 35, a new eloquence in style and a persistent emphasis on the common life and its concomitant virtues have entered the Rule.⁹⁵ These mark the dependence of Caesarius on his revered master Augustine. Before the extent and nature of that dependence can be shown, it is necessary to establish what will be accepted for this study as the *Rule of St. Augustine*, because conclusive evidence is lacking as to the exact origin and nature of this text, and the two points have occasioned much scholarly controversy.

There are two monastic codes, the longer of which exists in a masculine and a feminine form—hence three texts—which are ascribed to Augustine in manuscripts of the early Middle Ages. The two long and almost identical texts, one in masculine, one in feminine form, are: the *Regula Augustini* (also called *Regula tertia* and *Regula ad servos Dei*),⁹⁶ and sections five to sixteen of *Epistula CCXI* (also called *Regula sororum*);⁹⁷ the much shorter document is the *Regula secunda* (also known as the *De ordine monasterii* and the *Disciplina monasterii*).⁹⁸ The two chief points of dispute concern the authorship of the *Reg. sec.*, and the occasion of the changing of the form of the *Reg. sor.* to *Reg. Aug.* or vice versa. Fortunately the text of Caesarius' Rule leaves little doubt

⁹⁵ *Reg. virg.*, pp. 8-13.

⁹⁶ Ed. D. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1930), 320-26. (Hereafter cited as *Reg. Aug.*.)

⁹⁷ Ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL, LVII (1911), 356-71. (Hereafter cited as *Reg. sor.*.)

⁹⁸ Ed. D. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1930), 318-19. (Hereafter cited as *Reg. sec.*.) R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner have included an edition of the *Reg. sec.* and *Reg. Aug.* in Appendices B and C of their edition of *Jordan de Saxonie Liber Vitesfratrum* (New York, 1943). They accept Mandouret's theory that Augustine wrote his rule originally for monks (p. lxxix ff.). Therefore, they take the text of the Augustinian monks' rule as standard, and the variations in the form of the rule addressed to nuns as derivative changes or distortions. Their edition has not been used because their theory of the origin of the *Rule of St. Augustine* is not accepted in this study.

as to what he regarded as the *Rule of St. Augustine*. In the earliest manuscript of the *Rule of St. Augustine* (ca. 600), the *Reg. sec.* and the *Reg. Aug.* appear combined as if to form one rule, and it is on this combination that the Rule of Caesarius exhibits unquestionable dependence.⁹⁹ Therefore the *Reg. sec.* followed by the *Reg. Aug.* will be taken as the *Rule of St. Augustine* throughout this study.

The *Reg. sec.* is a very brief, terse monastic code of ten short chapters, while the *Reg. Aug.* is, by comparison, a long discursive treatise on monastic life. The latter appears in its feminine form—*Reg. sor.*—as part of a letter to a convent of nuns at Hippo. The earliest manuscript of the letter dates from the twelfth century.¹⁰⁰ No one doubts that Augustine wrote at least one of the forms—either masculine or feminine—of the long text, for its content is in every way a summary of his teachings on the monastic life as they are found clearly expressed in his other writings apart from his rule;¹⁰¹ and, at least in the *Reg. sor.* form, its style is Augustine's. The style of the short *Reg. sec.*, on the other hand, is largely the impersonal one of a law code, giving little indication of its author; its content is fully consonant with the monastic teachings of the *Reg. Aug.* which follows it, but its style offers no proof that Augustine wrote it,¹⁰² although Mandonnet and others following him have held for Augustine's authorship.¹⁰³ Theories concerning

⁹⁹ Lambot, "La règle de S. Augustin et S. Césaire," *Rev. Bén.*, XII (1920), 336-38.

¹⁰⁰ Chaps. 1-4 of *Epistula CCXI* are written in epistolary style and contain a reproof to the nuns for their resistance to authority. Chaps. 5-16 follow as a sort of treatise on the religious life.

¹⁰¹ A. Zunkeller, O. E. S. A., *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus* (Würzburg, 1950), provides a recent synthesis of Augustine's monastic ideal culled from his many writings which touch on it. See also A. Zunkeller, "Augustinus und das Mönchtum," *L'Année théologique Augustinienne*, nos. 40, 50 (1954), 97-112.

¹⁰² M. Verheijen, O. E. S. A., "Remarques sur le style de la 'Regula secunda' de Saint Augustin—Son rédacteur," *Augustinus Magister*, I (Paris, 1954), 255-63; also, "La 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *Vigiliæ Christianæ*, VII (1953), 27-50. In the latter article (pp. 33 ff.) Verheijen explicitly refutes Mandonnet.

¹⁰³ Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, II, 126 ff. For those who follow Mandonnet, see pp. 118 ff., *infra*.

its origin continue to appear. Lambot and Morin find indications that the *Reg. sec.* was written in Italy in the fifth century to accompany the *Reg. Aug.*¹⁰⁴ Verheijen attempts to prove that the *Reg. sec.* was composed by Alypius, one of Augustine's first monastic companions during the Saint's own lifetime, while Chatillon notes indications that it originated in the East in the fourth or fifth century.¹⁰⁵ No final answers can be given at the present time to the problems connected with the text of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, but an attempt will be made a little further on in this study to outline all the major points of evidence available on the authorship of this much controverted rule. First, however, there will be a survey of the extent and nature of the dependence of Caesarius on the *Reg. sec.* and *Reg. Aug.*, because it is with Caesarius that this study is directly concerned, and his text furnishes clear proof that it was from these two Augustinian documents he borrowed.

The consideration here of the two rules will show that the Gallic legislator incorporated into his *Rule for Nuns* all of the principal monastic doctrines of the great African bishop. However, he did not, thereby, make his *Rule for Nuns* simply a modified and extended Augustinian rule, first, because of basic differences in the two rules; and secondly, because of the method by which he drew upon Augustine's rule. Caesarius excerpted about half of the actual text of the *Rule of St. Augustine* into the *Rule for Nuns*, using those passages which contain the core of each Augustinian chapter. The chapters of which the excerpted Augustinian passages form the major portion, comprise only about one-fourth of the total text of the *Rule for Nuns*, although they contain at least one-half of its principal spiritual teachings.¹⁰⁶ Thus it can be seen that one of the

¹⁰⁴ Lambot, "Un code monastique précurseur de la Règle bénédictine," *Rev. lit. et mor.*, VII (1920), 51 ff. and "Un 'ordo officii' du V^e siècle," *Rev. Bén.*, XLII (1930), 77-80. Morin, "L'Ordre des heures canonicales dans les monastères de Cassiodore," *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1931), 145-152. The conclusions of Morin and Lambot differ somewhat.

¹⁰⁵ Verheijen's theory is expounded in the two studies listed in n. 159, p. 120, *infra*; it is based on the legal character of the language in the *Reg. sec.* Linguistic evidence is also the basis of the study of F. Chatillon, "Quelques remarques sur 'ante omnia,'" *Revue des études Augustiniennes*, II (1956), 365-67.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. parallel texts pp. 136-50, with full texts of *Reg. virg.*, and of

basic differences between the Rule of Caesarius and that of Augustine is the greater length and detail of the former.

The character as well as the length of the two rules differ. The *Rule for Nuns* is much more abrupt and legislative in tone than the *Rule of St. Augustine* which Lambot has characterized as "... less a rule in the strict sense than an urgent exhortation to lead the common life in its entirety, as the necessary condition for religious perfection."¹⁰⁷ In this connection Malnory had noted that one of the principal Augustinian contributions to the *Rule for Nuns* was its "unctionous considerations on the virtues."¹⁰⁸ The whole tone of the section in which all but one of the excerpts from St. Augustine occur—that is, from chapters seventeen to thirty-five—is more eloquent than other portions of the Rule, even in the passages which are Caesarius' own. The difference in the character of the two rules is also seen in the emphasis peculiar to each. In the *Rule of St. Augustine*, the emphasis is definitely the perfection of the common life.¹⁰⁹ While the Augustinian common life is a major point in the Rule of Caesarius, it is still only one aspect of the cloistered life which his Rule established. The more basic point of the latter's Rule would seem to be the orientation of all ascetic efforts toward the goal of heaven.¹¹⁰

The way in which Caesarius excerpted from the *Rule of St. Augustine*, freely adding his own comments or interpretations and omitting passages at will, serves above all to make the *Rule for Nuns* his own, despite its weighty dependence on the Augustinian rule.¹¹¹ The following points will serve to explain what the pages of parallel texts illustrate. Caesarius made a very close adaptation of five of the ten brief chapters of the *Reg. sec.*—chaps. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9—in their original order and with little interruption. He completed

Rule of St. Augustine (*Reg. sec.* and *Reg. Aug.*), *op. cit.*, pp. 319-326. See also table showing the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns*, pp. 127-29, for an estimate of the amount of the *Rule of St. Augustine* in *Reg. virg.* Lambot ("La Règle de s. Augustine et de s. Césaire," *op. cit.*, p. 335) says that one-half of St. Augustine's rule is in *Reg. virg.*

¹⁰⁷ Lambot, "Augustin (Règle de saint)," *DDC*, I (Paris, 1935), 1413.

¹⁰⁸ Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

¹⁰⁹ C. Boyer, "Augustin (saint)," *DSAM*, I (1937), 1128.

¹¹⁰ Lambot, "Césaire," 272-273.

¹¹¹ Lambot, "La règle de s. Augustin et de s. Césaire," *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336.

chap. 7 of the *Reg. sec.* with a sentence from chap. 8 of the *Reg. Aug.*, and inserted between chaps. 7 and 9 of the *Reg. sec.* a passage based partly upon chap. 3 of the latter.¹¹²

So exact a mathematical estimate of the borrowing from the *Reg. Aug.* as given above for the *Reg. sec.* is not possible, for here the method Caesarius used was somewhat different, as the *Reg. Aug.* itself is very different, longer and more eloquent than the brief, terse *Reg. sec.* which precedes it. As in the case of the *Reg. sec.*, however, Caesarius did follow almost without exception the order in which passages occur in the *Reg. Aug.* He excerpted from seven of the eight chapters of the rule, leaving aside completely only the final one exhorting the religious to read the rule once a week.¹¹³ In general, Augustine's method in each chapter was to state an ascetical principle and then develop it by explanation, examples, and practical applications. Caesarius excerpted in most cases so as to present in the *Rule for Nuns* the substance of the ascetical principles contained in each chapter, but he usually omitted portions of St. Augustine's development of them, sometimes supplying his own briefer applications, as, for instance, in adding to St. Augustine's rules for the care of the sick the note that they may have their own supply room and kitchen if necessary.¹¹⁴ It is worth noting that in three instances St. Caesarius cited Scripture to develop a passage of St. Augustine where the latter had not done so,¹¹⁵ and that once he added a Scriptural citation to one of Augustine's.¹¹⁶ As the underlining throughout the pages of parallel texts shows, St. Caesarius usually took almost verbatim a passage which he wanted, and, after omitting portions of St. Augustine's development, excerpted the one sentence or so which summed up his point. One would agree with Lambot's estimate that about one-half of the text of the *Rule of St. Augustine* is in the *Rule for Nuns*. In considering merely the texts of the two rules, one would agree, too, with Lambot's opinion that by "scattering," to a great extent, his

¹¹² See parallel texts, pp. 136-37.

¹¹³ *Reg. Aug.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326.

¹¹⁴ *Reg. virg.*, chap. 32; *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 13. These and the citations in the following notes are shown in the pp. of parallel texts.

¹¹⁵ *Reg. virg.*, chap. 17; *Reg. sec.*, chap. 4. *Reg. virg.*, chap. 19; *Reg. sec.*, chap. 3; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 21; *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 7.

¹¹⁶ *Reg. virg.*, chap. 33; *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 14.

Augustinian passages, Caesarius has disfigured "le dispositif augustinien," that is, the Augustinian character of his borrowings.¹¹⁷ What is true of the texts, however, cannot be applied too strictly to the actual content of the spiritual teachings in which it appears that Caesarius was quite heavily indebted to St. Augustine, incorporating into his *Rule for Nuns* all of the teachings which contain the essence of the monastic ideal of the *Rule of St. Augustine*.

The opening chapter of the *Reg. Aug.* presents clearly and emphatically the ideal of the common life, thus establishing it as the rich fountain-head whence flow poverty, humility, an all-pervading charity¹¹⁸ including special solicitude for the sick,¹¹⁹ and deference to authority by subjects,¹²⁰ paralleled by a selfless use of it by superiors.¹²¹ Even chastity, the other great emphasis of the rule, is drawn into the practice of the common life by St. Augustine's earnest exhortation to his religious to aid one another in the preservation of this virtue by vigilance over one another's conduct and fearless fraternal correction.¹²² Caesarius marred somewhat the dramatic effect and the unifying force of St. Augustine's introductory chapter on the common life by inserting it rather abruptly into his twentieth and twenty-first chapters following a series of mostly short disciplinary chapters drawn from various sources. However, once he had introduced the primary ideal of the *Reg. Aug.*, he followed faithfully and with relatively few digressions the flow of its rich train of thought. St. Augustine's teachings on community of ownership through renunciation of all personal property;¹²³ humility in forgetting one's former station to live in harmony with one's fellow religious;¹²⁴ charity in avoidance of strife,¹²⁵ and in solicitude for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the brethren, especially the sick;¹²⁶ and interior and exterior re-

¹¹⁷ Lambot, "La règle de s. Augustin et s. Césaire," *op. cit.*, p. 335.

¹¹⁸ *Reg. Aug.*, 5-6, 320.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13, 324.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15, 325.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 14, 325.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 10-11, 321-23.

¹²³ *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 5, 12; *Reg. virg.*, chaps. 20-21, 29.

¹²⁴ *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 6; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 21.

¹²⁵ *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 14; *Reg. virg.*, chaps. 33-34.

¹²⁶ *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 9, 13; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 22, 32.

straint, aided by fraternal correction, to preserve chastity,¹²⁷ can all be clearly traced in the *Rule for Nuns*. So, too, can be traced there Augustine's effective conclusion to his exposition of the common life as the perfection of religious life—his rules for the conduct of superiors and subjects in their mutual relations.¹²⁸ In using Augustine's rule, Caesarius omitted particular and local details not applicable to his convent of St. John. For example, he made no mention of Augustine's distinction between the offices of prior and presbyter (priest-superior), because the latter officer did not exist for his convent where the abbess was supreme.¹²⁹ In no instance, however, do Caesarius' omissions leave out any one of the major spiritual teachings of the *Reg. Aug.*

Despite the fact that it abridges portions and omits minor details of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, and subordinates it to the position of a part of a more extensive rule, the *Rule for Nuns* can still be regarded as one of the links in the transmission of the *Rule of St. Augustine* to the Middle Ages and to modern times. Its role of transmitter of a rule much more influential and universal in character than itself gives the *Rule for Nuns* a historical significance beyond that accorded by its own limited influence. In addition, the *Rule of St. Augustine* serves to widen the orbit of the *Rule for Nuns* by linking it expressly with the earliest beginnings of monasticism. The principle of the common life as the basis of religious perfection, found its inspiration in the common ownership of goods and the "cor unum et anima una" of the first Christian community of Jerusalem¹³⁰ and thus it roots St. Caesarius' Rule in the very foundations of monastic tradition.

The brief résumé just given of the spiritual teachings of the *Rule of St. Augustine* and their influence on Caesarius, still leaves one with questions, especially in connection with a possible adaptation to women: For whom did Augustine write the rule, on what occasion, with what particular purpose, and under what form? The ultimate reply would seem to be that we lack absolutely "clinching evidence" to answer these questions. However, a survey of the great number of scholarly studies they have evoked for the last

¹²⁷ *Reg. Aug.*, chaps. 10-11; *Reg. virg.*, chaps. 23-24.

¹²⁸ *Reg. Aug.*, chaps. 14-15; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 35.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Acts, 4: 32.

thirty years seems to indicate that the conclusions of Dom Lambot are the most judicious, and they have been accepted for this study as the most probable. He confirms the view rather generally accepted from the time of the Renaissance until the last twenty-five years or more, that Augustine wrote the *Reg. sor.* as part of a letter to a convent of nuns at Hippo and that it was probably transcribed into the masculine form (*Reg. Aug.*) and prefaced by the new *Reg. sec.* by some anonymous fifth-century monk either before or after the death of Augustine.¹³¹ The new theories of authorship, appearing both before and after Lambot's studies, will be summarized briefly below, after the problem of the texts has been outlined. Lambot's very conclusive and uncontested demonstration that Caesarius used the *Reg. sec.-Reg. Aug.* combination, not the *Reg. sor.*, will be summarized.¹³² Although the following pages will indicate the many uncertainties which still exist concerning the origin of the text of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, it should be noted that a useful by-product of the vast amount of scholarship recently expended has been a full exposition of Augustine's monastic ideal as it can be gleaned from all his writings, and a confirmation of the fact that what we now accept as his rule does accurately express that ideal.¹³³

The basic problem of the *Rule of St. Augustine* includes the following points:

1. Although there is certain evidence from fourth- and fifth-century writings by and about Augustine that he founded a number of monasteries both for men and for women, his own writings seem

¹³¹ The chief exposition of Lambot's arguments in favor of the traditional view and his summary of it appears in "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé la Règle pour moines qui porte son nom?" *Rev. Bén.*, LIII (1941), 41-58. (Hereafter cited as Lambot, "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?"). In 1954 ("Le monachisme de S. Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* III, 65) Lambot again briefly summarized the traditional opinion in the same way. In "Augustin (Règle de saint)," *DDC*, I (Paris, 1935), 1414, Lambot lists some of the theories of scholars who hold to this traditional view on the time and occasion of the transcribing of the *Reg. sor.* into the *Reg. Aug.*

¹³² Lambot, "La règle de s. Augustin et de s. Césaire," *Rev. Bén.*, XLI (1929), 333-41.

¹³³ The most useful recent summary of Augustinian monasticism is contained in A. Zunkeller, O. E. S. A., *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus* (Würzburg, 1950).

never to refer to a rule which he might have composed for them, not even his *Retractiones* where he lists most of his works. His biographer Possidius includes no mention of a rule in his listing of Augustine's works.¹³⁴ One passage in Possidius' *Vita sancti Augustini* has been interpreted by some scholars to refer to a rule written by Augustine,¹³⁵ but others maintain that it simply refers to the "rule of life" of the Apostles, that of the first Christian community in Jerusalem which was the inspiration for all early monasticism.¹³⁶ Possidius' text is: "... cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam."¹³⁷ It refers to the establishment of a monastery at Hippo by Augustine soon after he became a priest.

2. The earliest manuscript references to and text of a *Regula sancti Augustini* appears in a manuscript (the Latin manuscript 12634 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) dated between 550-650 and possibly originating at Vivarium or at least in southern Italy. It contains, among other excerpts from the Fathers, the *Reg. sec.* (with no incipit) followed immediately by the *Reg. Aug.*, evidently intended by the scribe as an ensemble, since he wrote no explicit for the *Reg. sec.* nor any incipit for the *Reg. Aug.*, but concluded the second with "Explicit Regula sancti Augustini episcopi."¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Lambot ("S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?" pp. 41-42) notes these two omissions. Augustini sancti *Retractionum libri duo*, ed. with French trans. by G. Bardy in *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, ed. F. Cayré and F. Van Steenberghe (Paris, 1940), vol. XII; and Possidii episcopi *sancti Augustini vita*, ed. A. C. Vega (Escorial, 1934).

¹³⁵ E. G., Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.; Arbesmann and Hülpfnert, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-l.

¹³⁶ Verheijen, "Les Sermons 355-356 de saint Augustin et la *Regula Sancti Augustini*," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XLI (1953), 235-36. Lambot notes that Caesarius gave no written rule to his communities of men: "Saint Augustin et la vie monastique," *Rev. lit. et mon.*, XV (1930), 300.

¹³⁷ Possidii, *op. cit.*, V, 37.

¹³⁸ The most recent and detailed study of ms. Paris (Bibliothèque nationale) Latin 12634 appears in the critical introduction of H. Vanderhoven, O. S. B., F. Masai and P. B. Corbett, to *La Règle du Maître. Edition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 and 12634 de Paris*. The study of D. De Bruyne, O. S. B., "La première règle de saint Benoît," *Rev. Bén.*, XLII (1930), 316-42, is still useful.

The *Rule for Nuns* of Casarius, written before 534, and an undated and anonymous *Regula Tarnatensis* both contain excerpts from the two parts of the *Rule of St. Augustine* in the form and order in which it appears in this manuscript; their texts even confirm its readings.¹³⁹

3. At the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century there is evidence in the monastic writings of Leander, Isidore, and Fructuosus that they knew what is later found as the feminine form (*Reg. sor.*) of Augustine's rule in Spain; there is also evidence in Isidore's *Rule for Monks*, that he knew the *Reg. sor.*¹⁴⁰ A certain Donatus, who fled ca. 560 from Africa with his monks and established a monastery at Servitanum in Spain, may have been the agent of transmission of Augustine's rule to Visigothic Spain. Ildefonsus related that he brought with him the "usum et regulam monasticæ observantiæ."¹⁴¹

4. A Spanish manuscript of the early ninth century (Escorial a I 13) contains the first clear and extended evidence of a feminine form of the *Rule of St. Augustine* and of that form as Letter 211. The manuscript consists of a much abridged form of the letter.¹⁴² In order to understand what is significant in this manuscript it is necessary to see first the contents of the manuscripts from the late eleventh and twelfth century to the fifteenth, presenting the earliest complete form what has come to be known as Letter 211 of St. Augustine. This letter consists of four introductory sections ad-

¹³⁹ These points are noted by De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18. The text of the *Regula Tarnatensis* can be found in PL, LXVI (Paris, 1865), 977-86.

¹⁴⁰ Verheijen ("La 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.) gives references to the writings of these three Spanish monastic leaders, showing the influence of the *Rule of St. Augustine* in their writings.

¹⁴¹ Verheijen ("La 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.) cites Ildefonsus' account of Donatus and the possibilities it suggests.

¹⁴² The manuscript of this "*Regula puellarum*" has been edited by A. C. Vega, O. E. S. A., "Un adaptación de la 'Informatio regularis' de s. Augustin anterior al siglo IX para unos vírgenes españolas—contribución a un 'Corpus Regularum,'" *Miscellanea Mercati*, II (vol. CXXII of Studi e Testi) (Rome, 1946), 34-56. Verheijen has written at length on this "*Regula puellarum*" in the study cited in the previous note and especially in "La 'Regula Puellarum' et la 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *Augustiniana*, IV (1954), 258-68.

monishing the nuns concerning a minor rebellion which has occurred in the monastery,¹⁴³ followed by twelve sections (5-16)¹⁴⁴ much in the nature of a treatise and substantially, though not completely, identical with what appears in the seventh-century Latin manuscript, Latin 12634 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, as *Reg. Aug.*¹⁴⁵ The whole of the letter, of course, refers to nuns rather than monks, and the part consisting of sections 5-16,—*Reg. sor.*—besides its feminine pronoun changes, contains certain minor though definite text changes in phrasing or even in content which make it distinguishable from *Reg. Aug.*¹⁴⁶

The earliest complete manuscript of Letter 211 (Rheinau 89) appears at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. It presents sections 1-4 with the incipit: "Incipit prae-fatio beati Augustini in regula quam monialibus composuit;" and with the explicit: "Explicit prae-fatio." Sections 5-16 (*Reg. sor.*) are introduced by "Incipit regula monialium a beato Augustini edita," and are concluded by "Explicit."

The next manuscript of Letter 211, (Mazarin 619) from the twelfth century, commences sections 1-4 with "Epistula sancti Augustini exhortatoria ad sanctimoniales," and concludes with "Explicit epistula." Sections 5-16 commence with "Incipit tractatus sancti Augustini episcopi de vita et conversatione sanctimonialium," and have no explicit. From the twelfth century on, manuscripts of Letter 211 multiply, tending gradually to make less of a break between the first and second parts of the letter.¹⁴⁷

Turning back to the ninth-century manuscript (Escorial a I 13) one finds that its text of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, entitled *Regula puellarum*, commences with a paragraph excerpted from sections 1-4 of Letter 211. The paragraph is headed "Praefatio" and begins with a little salutation "Augustinus in Domino salutem;" it concludes with "Explicit." This introduction is followed by a few

¹⁴³ *Reg. sor.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-59.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-71.

¹⁴⁵ Lambot, "L'influence de S. Augustine sur la règle de S. Benoît," *Rev. lit. et mon.*, VII-VIII (1929), 45.

¹⁴⁶ These are noted in a later section of this study, pp. 122-25 and in the pages of compared texts.

¹⁴⁷ Verheijen ("Les manuscrits de la lettre 211 de saint Augustin," *Revue de moyen âge latin* [1952], 98 ff.), describes in detail the mss. noted here.

excerpts of the *Reg. sec.*, here uniquely in the feminine form. The main body of the text of *Regula puellarum* consists of about one-half of what appears in the later manuscripts as sections 5-16 of Letter 211.¹⁴⁸ This is also, of course, very much like what has appeared in an earlier manuscript as *Reg. Aug.* but it has some of the few though definite text changes which distinguish the manuscripts of Letter 211 from the seventh-century manuscript of the *Reg. Aug.*¹⁴⁹

It is the foregoing tangle of evidence which confronts one who, studying the sources of Caesarius, seeks to learn the origin of the *Rule of St. Augustine* and especially to know whether the great doctor of the Church wrote for nuns or monks. One of the first serious challenges to the traditional opinion that he did write his so-called "Rule" as Letter 211 for the convent of nuns at Hippo was produced by Merlin in 1933, who claimed that Augustine wrote *Reg. Aug.* and that Letter 211 was a mediaeval forgery.¹⁵⁰ Five years later Mandonnet produced an even more elaborate thesis claiming that Augustine wrote all the texts we have been discussing — *Reg. sec.* for his first monastery at Tagaste; *Reg. Aug.* as a commentary to *Reg. sec.* at the time he founded his second monastery at Hippo; and finally Letter 211 as a transcription from *Reg. Aug.* for a convent at Hippo which needed its monastic life more closely regulated.¹⁵¹ In 1941 Nieser restudied the problem and presented a summary of the status of the controversy, reaffirming Mandonnet's conclusions,¹⁵² in 1948, somewhat more briefly, Purcell did the same.¹⁵³ In the same year in which Nieser wrote, Dom Lambert

¹⁴⁸ *Regula puellarum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-56.

¹⁴⁹ The three most significant text changes of Letter 211 over *Reg. Aug.* which appear also in the *Regula puellarum*, are the addition in Letter 211 of sentences or clauses in chaps. 6, 12, 14. These additions not appearing in *Reg. Aug.* have been included in the notes to the parallel texts, pp. 139, 144, 147.

¹⁵⁰ N. S. Merlin, *S. Augustin et la vie monastique*, Albi, 1933; also "Exemple typique d'un préjugé littéraire. Texte primordial de la règle de saint Augustin," *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, XXIV (1948), 5-19.

¹⁵¹ Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 126 ff.

¹⁵² A. B. Nieser, O. P., "The Present Status of the Study of the Rule of St. Augustine." Unpublished master's dissertation, Dept. of History, Catholic University of America (Washington, 1941).

¹⁵³ T. P. Purcell, O. S. A., "The Rule of St. Augustine," *The Historical Bulletin*, XXV (1946), 5-6; 14-15.

reviewed the problem of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, considering and refuting especially Merlin and Mandonnet's theories. The Benedictine scholar offers what seem to be the most judicious and objective conclusions of all appearing before or since he wrote, reaffirming the "traditional" view that of all the texts purporting to be his rule, Augustine wrote only Letter 211. He built his arguments on internal evidence of style and content, pointing out that despite Mandonnet's elaborate arguments there exists no final external evidence on which a judgment can be based. In a detailed demonstration he showed that the dozen or more small text changes which distinguish *Reg. Aug.* (the masculine form) from *Reg. sor.* (Letter 211), actually weaken or obscure the meaning of a few sentences or paragraphs of the masculine form, and show that whoever changed the feminine into the masculine form did not always understand the thought or the niceties of style in the text he was adapting. As will be shown below, evidence can be drawn from the Rule of Caesarius to substantiate Lambert's arguments of the weakness of certain passages in the *Reg. Aug.*: Caesarius, using it and, quite evidently having no access to the *Reg. sor.*, tried to clarify the meaning of passages which are weak and obscure in the *Reg. Aug.*, though clear in the *Reg. sor.*¹⁵⁴ Lambert's arguments are strong to show that *Reg. sor.* was the original of the two texts, and that its author, Augustine, would have made a much more intelligent transcription into the masculine form than the *Reg. Aug.* which was available to Caesarius and is now extant in the same form. Dickinson thought so, and in 1950 made a very comprehensive survey of the status of the controversy to that time, confirming Lambert's findings.¹⁵⁵ Finally, it is very significant that Vicaire, who, working with Mandonnet in 1938, had defended his thesis, stated in 1957 that he now rejects them, holding for the authenticity of Letter 211 alone, especially on the basis of the arguments presented by Lambert.¹⁵⁶

In the past five years or more a prolific new series of studies has

¹⁵⁴ Lambert, "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?" *op. cit.*, pp. 41-58.

¹⁵⁵ J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 254-264.

¹⁵⁶ M. H. Vicaire, O. P., *Histoire de saint Dominique*, I (2 vols., Paris, 1957), 93 and nn. 43 and 44.

appeared chiefly from Verheijen¹⁵⁷ and Hümpfner¹⁵⁸ harking back to the Mandonnet theory of Augustinian authorship for *Reg. Aug.*, (though not, in the case of Verheijen, for *Reg. sec.*),¹⁵⁹ and maintaining that Letter 211 originated in sixth- or seventh-century Spain. Although Verheijen commands a most ingenious array of arguments, and although one admits the truth of the basic contention of both scholars that manuscripts of Letter 211 first appeared in Spain, and appeared two centuries after the *Reg. Aug.* manuscript, it does not seem possible to accept their theories in the face of that of Lambot. They have not accounted for the fundamental fact which Lambot has demonstrated: *Reg. Aug.* has the character of a transcription mutilated to some extent both in meaning and style, defective apparently because the scribe did not understand fully the text he wrote.¹⁶⁰ Lambot's opponents have not shown the defects of *Reg. Aug.* to be characteristic of Augustine's writings.

A few new considerations can be added here to support Lambot, and to show that the *Reg. sor.* did not originate in sixth- or seventh-century Spain. The arguments here are based on the generally accepted fact that Augustine did not impose a strict cloister on his fifth-century African religious,¹⁶¹ but that after the sixth century, cloister became more and more the universal rule for nuns in Gaul and Spain.¹⁶² The *Reg. sor.* provides that the nuns may go out to the public baths once a month, the *Reg. Aug.* that the monks may go if their health demands it. Writing in sixth-century Gaul, Caesarius does not even borrow the passage on going out to the baths from the *Reg. Aug.* for his cloistered nuns,¹⁶³ and in ninth-century

¹⁵⁷ The studies of Verheijen have been listed in the notes of the preceding pages.

¹⁵⁸ W. Hümpfner, "Die Mönchsregel des heiligen Augustinus," *Augustinus Magister*, I (Paris, 1954), 241-54; "Augustinus regel," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, I (1957), 1104-05.

¹⁵⁹ Verheijen explicitly refutes Mandonnet in "La 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *op. cit.*, pp. 27-56; and "Remarques sur le style de la 'Regula secunda' de Saint Augustin—Son rédacteur," *op. cit.*, pp. 255-63.

¹⁶⁰ Lambot, "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?" *op. cit.*, pp. 41-48.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶² Lambot, "Le prototype," pp. 160-173.

¹⁶³ *Reg. sor.*, chap. 13; *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 13; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 31. The texts of these regulations are given in the parallel texts.

Spain, in the earliest manuscript of the *Reg. sor.*, the *Regula Puellarum*,¹⁶⁴ there is no trace of the regulation on going out once a month. If the *Reg. sor.* form of the rule were made in Spain by someone known to Leander in the sixth century¹⁶⁵ or written by Fructuosus in the seventh,¹⁶⁶ (as Verheijen and Hümpfner hold respectively), then that would mean that the Spanish founder using Augustine's rule mitigated rather than strengthened the regulation of the *Reg. Aug.* on going out to the public baths. This is contrary to all evidence existing for sixth- and seventh-century Spanish monasticism, for Leander, Isidore, and Fructuosus do not seem to have had any thought of nuns or even monks going out to public baths. These were not so common after the fifth century. The Spanish founders do not borrow this regulation from either the *Reg. Aug.* or the *Reg. sor.* to put into their own rules. Leander exhorts virgins to live in a religious community apart from the world,¹⁶⁷ and never to desire to return;¹⁶⁸ and to shun the company of men,¹⁶⁹ and even of women of the world.¹⁷⁰ Isidore provides that his monks will never leave the monastery and that it will be situated at a distance from the village.¹⁷¹ All reports of the nun Benedicta, whom Fructuosus helped (and for whom, Hümpfner states, Fructuosus transcribed the *Reg. sor.*) indicate that she and her nuns lived in a wilderness solitude.¹⁷²

The brief sentence in the *Reg. sor.* allowing the nuns to go out

¹⁶⁴ *Regula puellarum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-56.

¹⁶⁵ Verheijen, "La 'Regula Sancti Augustini,'" *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁶⁶ Hümpfner, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-54.

¹⁶⁷ Leandri, *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi*, *La ciudad de Dios*, CLIX (1947), chap. xxvi, 47.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. xxx, 56-59.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. ii-iii, 20-21.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. i, 19.

¹⁷¹ Isidori, *Regula monachorum*, PL, LXXXIII (Paris, 1862), chap. 20. S. McKenna, C. SS. R., "The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Spain." Unpublished master's dissertation, Dept. of History, Catholic University of America (Washington, 1935), pp. 33, 36-37.

¹⁷² *Vita sancti Fructuosi. Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, by Sr. Frances Clare Nock, S. C. N., Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, VII (Washington, D. C., 1946), chap. XV, 117-118. See also J. Zellinger, *Bad und Bäder in der alten Kirche* (Munich, 1928).

once a month, could only have originated, it would seem, in fifth-century Africa. It is logical to suppose that the stricter regulation of the *Reg. Aug.* was made later in the century or perhaps in the next, and perhaps in Gaul or Italy. These suppositions support Lambot's thesis that the *Reg. Aug.* was not from the hand of Augustine and that the *Reg. sor.* was.

In a study appearing in 1929, Dom Lambot took up the question which naturally presents itself in connection with an Augustinian source of a rule for nuns, that is, would it not be most logical to conclude that St. Caesarius, who professed to be in quest of rules especially adapted for women, had borrowed from the *Reg. sor.* rather than from the *Reg. Aug.*? Lambot showed that a comparison of the texts of the two Augustinian rules with that of Caesarius not only reveals that the *Rule for Nuns* is very closely dependent on the *Reg. Aug.* in several of the minor changes which distinguish the latter from the *Reg. sor.*, but also that the comparison gives strong evidence that St. Caesarius never saw the *Reg. sor.*¹⁷³ The soundness of Lambot's contention was substantiated by some of the evidence of his study (referred to previously), to prove that St. Augustine himself did not rewrite the *Reg. sor.* into its masculine form, *Reg. Aug.* Although Lambot himself did not make the applications to the *Rule for Nuns*, three changes, at least, of *Reg. Aug.* can be traced in the *Rule for Nuns* and help to prove the relationship of the two.¹⁷⁴ De Bruyne seconded Lambot's thesis as early as 1930, and his evidence as well as the major points of Lambot are given in the following paragraphs.¹⁷⁵

Lambot's first study in 1929 presented three examples of differing texts of the *Reg. sor.* and the *Reg. Aug.* in which the *Rule for Nuns* follows the *Reg. Aug.* very closely in its differences. The first example is one that has already been discussed in the preceding pages: not only the wording but even the actual matter of the legislation on baths differs in *Reg. sor.* and the *Reg. Aug.* In the former, the nuns in general are allowed to take baths once a month; in the *Reg. Aug.* and in the *Rule for Nuns* there is no question of general permission for bathing, the chief point of the legislation

¹⁷³ Lambot, "La règle de s. Augustin et de s. Césaire," *op. cit.*, pp. 333-41.

¹⁷⁴ Lambot, "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?" *op. cit.*, pp. 41-47.

¹⁷⁵ De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

being that baths are not to be denied the sick.¹⁷⁶ The full texts of these three rules as well as of the examples noted in the following pages are given in parallel columns, pp. 145-46.

Less obvious to the reader but equally conclusive in its proof is Lambot's second example which bears out his point not only concerning the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns* on the *Reg. Aug.*, but also concerning the probability that the *Reg. sor.* was not known to Caesarius. *Reg. Aug.* contains the sentence: "Ipse vero qui vobis praest, non se existimet potestate dominante sed caritate felicem." The author found it necessary to indicate by the clause "qui vobis praest" what was the correct antecedent, i.e., "praepositum" (the prior), of the pronoun "ipse," since the foregoing sentence speaks of the "presbyter" (the presbyter or priest-superior) as well as of the "praepositus." The *Reg. sor.* simply states: "Ipsa vero non se existimet potestate dominante sed caritate serviente felicem," omitting the clarifying clause for the feminine pronoun "ipsa" because it is evident that in the foregoing sentence the antecedent of "ipsa" is the feminine "praeposita" (the prioress), and not the masculine "presbyter" (the priest-superior). "Qui vobis praest," as Lambot understands it, appears to be merely a grammatical necessity which is evident when the masculine and feminine Augustinian rules are seen together. Caesarius, under no grammatical necessity, since his parallel pronoun "ipsae" in the *Rule for Nuns* is plural and refers clearly to both antecedents in the foregoing sentence—"matrī" (the abbess) and "propositae" (the prioress), still follows the *Reg. Aug.* in using the clause "quae vobis praest." Lambot's conjecture is the only possible one—Caesarius did not see the masculine and feminine Augustinian rules together.¹⁷⁷

Lambot's third example is less significant than the first two but still strong evidence for his thesis. In the *Reg. Aug.* there is a warning to the monks "qui in femina figit oculum," which finds a direct parallel in *Reg. sor.*'s warning to the nuns "quae in masculo figit oculum." The *Rule for Nuns*, however, speaks of the nuns "quae in virum non simpliciter convertit aspectum." Dom Lambot reasoned that if St. Caesarius had seen the term which directly parallels the "femina" of the *Reg. Aug.* that is, the "masculo" of

¹⁷⁶ Lambot, "La règle de s. Augustin et de s. Césaire," *op. cit.*, pp. 336.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-37.

the *Reg. sor.*, he would have used it in place of his stylistically less correct "virum."¹⁷⁸

It was in his investigation of changes and omissions distinguishing *Reg. Aug.* from *Reg. sor.* and mutilating the style of the latter that Dom Lambot cited examples which help to prove his thesis of the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns* on the *Reg. Aug.* As has been stated, he was not concerned in the article of 1941 with proving this thesis, but with proving that St. Augustine himself did not write the *Reg. Aug.* in its specific form. The following applications of three of his points to the *Rule for Nuns* illustrate how they help to substantiate his earlier thesis.

Lambot pointed out that the writer of *Reg. Aug.*, in the clause "dum nimium servatur humilitas," was not faithful to the more correct "dum nimia servatur humilitas," of the *Reg. sor.* St. Caesarius follows the "dum nimium . . ." of the *Reg. Aug.* Lambot's reasoning cited above, that if St. Caesarius had seen the better form he would have used it, applies just as well here to the "nimium" as to the "virum."¹⁷⁹ This first example presents rather slight evidence, but in the same passage a much more significant change, which is traceable in the *Rule for Nuns*, illustrates Lambot's point that the writer of *Reg. Aug.* did not understand fully the thought of *Reg. sor.* The *Reg. Aug.*, followed by the *Rule for Nuns*, uses "moribus" for "minoribus" in the *Reg. sor.* The *Reg. sor.* reads: "Quando necessitas disciplinae minoribus coerendis dicere vos verba dura compellit, . . ." while *Reg. Aug.* reads: "Quando necessitas disciplinae coerendis dicere vos verba dura compellit, . . ." St. Caesarius obviously felt the weakness in this passage and in trying to clarify it wrote thus: "Quando autem vos quae praepositae estis, necessitas disciplinae pro malis moribus, coerendis dicere verba dura compellit, . . ." It would seem as if the Saint grasped without having seen it the meaning in the original text of the *Reg. sor.*—that it applied to correction of the younger by the elder sisters indicated by "minoribus"—and tried to supply it by his "quae praepositae estis." He tried further to clarify the meaning of "moribus" by prefixing it with "*pro malis moribus*." It does seem from his use of "moribus," and his additions to the

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Lambot, "S. Augustin a-t-il rédigé?" *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

passage in which it occurs, that St. Caesarius did not know the text of the *Reg. sor.*¹⁸⁰

In addition to text changes, Lambot cites omissions as mutilations of the *Reg. sor.* text. One at least can be traced with some significance in the *Rule for Nuns*. When the *Reg. sor.* legislated: "nullus sibi aliquid operetur," it immediately explains the "aliquid" with "sive induatur sive ubi iaceat sive unde cingatur vel operiatur vel caput contegat." *Reg. Aug.* omits entirely the explanation of "aliquid," and the *Rule for Nuns* follows this omission exactly. These prohibitions deal with occupations of women rather than of men and this fact may explain their omission from *Reg. Aug.*¹⁸¹ It also increases the possibility that St. Caesarius, on the quest for legislation for women, had not seen them when he wrote his *Rule for Nuns*.

It was also an omission, that of a sentence of the *Reg. sor.* emphasizing the dangers of pride in one's former possessions, that De Bruyne noted as common to both the *Reg. Aug.* and the *Rule for Nuns*, and therefore as evidence of the dependence of the latter upon the former.¹⁸² Curiously enough, neither Lambot nor De Bruyne have singled out an omission to both *Reg. Aug.* and the *Rule for Nuns* which would seem to be one of the best proofs of their thesis. Both rules omit the explanation contained in *Reg. sor.*¹⁸³ that the text: "Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est," applies to women as well as to men. The omission is to be expected in *Reg. Aug.*, but is quite unexpected in the *Rule for Nuns* unless St. Caesarius was unacquainted with *Reg. sor.*'s sentence applying to women.

In 1931 Morin concurred with Lambot's and De Bruyne's opinion that Caesarius knew the *Rule of St. Augustine* as the *Reg. sec.* combined with the *Reg. Aug.*¹⁸⁴ For an apparently unexplained reason, in his 1933 edition of the *Rule for Nuns*, Morin cited the *Reg. sor.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

¹⁸² De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

¹⁸³ *Reg. sor.*, chap. 14. The parallel passages are *Reg. Aug.*, chap. 15; *Reg. virg.*, chap. 33. The parallel texts illustrate this point.

¹⁸⁴ Morin, "L'Ordre des heures canonicales dans le monastère de Cassiodore," *op. cit.*, p. 150.

as the source for all the Augustinian passages of Caesarius' rule except the three passages about which Lambot had written in 1929.¹⁸⁵ In the absence of any explanation on the part of Morin, and especially on the basis of the weighty evidence furnished by Lambot and De Bruyne, the *Reg. sec.* combined with the *Reg. Aug.* has been used in this dissertation as the Augustinian source of the *Rule for Nuns*.

The best general conclusion which can be provided for these considerations on the sources of the *Rule for Nuns* consists of the source table immediately following and the parallel texts of the *Rule* and its sources. These devices provide the reader with a map by which to organize the *Rule*, according to the monastic Father who speaks through each group of passages, be it Caesarius himself, or Cassian, or Augustine. The table and the texts show what a wealth of sound monastic tradition Caesarius transmits, revealing at the same time the strong impress of his own genius in reshaping and augmenting that tradition.

The sets of parallel texts show the *Reg. virg.* (*Rule for Nuns*) always in the left-hand column. Immediately adjoining it, in the right column, are shown those sources on which the *Reg. virg.* exhibits closest dependence. In the first and last part of the *Reg. virg.* this source is most often Caesarius' own *Reg. mon.*; occasionally it is the *Inst.* of Cassian. From chaps. 17-35 the *Rule of St. Augustine* is in the right-hand column as the source on which the *Reg. virg.* exhibits closest dependence.

Below these columns of texts there are placed, in many instances, passages or summaries of passages from one of the sources of Caesarius, which, though not the most directly related in thought and wording to the *Reg. virg.*, nevertheless show some relationship.

¹⁸⁵ Morin, ed. *Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 8-10

TABLE SHOWING THE DEPENDENCE OF THE *RULE FOR NUNS* ON ITS SOURCES, AND CHAPTERS OF THE *RULE* PROPER WHICH ARE RECAPITULATED

| <i>Rule of St. Augustine</i> | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-------|-------|-----------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----|
| <i>Regula</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Augustini</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Reg. virg.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Recapitulatio</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| chaps. | pp. | lines | bks. | chaps. | pp. | chaps. | pp. | chaps. | pp. |
| 1 | 149 | 11-12 | * IV | 2 | | | | | |
| 2 | 150 | 15-21 | IV | 3, 7 | | | | | |
| 3 | 149 | 12 | * II | 3 | | | | | |
| 4 | 150 | 1-5 | * IV | 3, 4 | | | | | |
| 5 | 150 | 5-11 | * VII | <i>passim</i> | | | | | |
| 6 | 150 | 22-23 | IV | 7, 8, 10, 23, 29, 41. | | | | | |
| 7 | 150 | 13-14 | IV | 13, 15 | | | | | |
| 8 | 150 | 24 | * II | 10 | | | | | |
| 9 | 150 | 20 | III | 7 | | | | | |
| 10 | 151 | 1-2 | III | | | | | | |
| 11 | 151 | 3-4 | * IV | 3, 7 | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | |

* Indicates passages in which Cassian's thought but not his wording is somewhat similar to *Reg. virg.*

[illegible]

Compared Texts of the Rule for Nuns and Its Sources

*Reg. virg.*¹⁸⁷

chap. 2

Haec sanctis animabus vestris
prima conveniunt:

Si qua relictis parentibus suis
saeculo renuntiare et sanctum ovile
vulnerit introire, ut spirituum lu-
porum faucibus deo adjuvante possit
evadere, *usque ad mortem suam* d[ic]e
monasterio non egrediatur, nec in
basilicam, ubi ostium esse videtur.

Inst. IV, 2 (Indirect dependence)

Cassian holds up before the Gallic monks the untiring perse-
verance in the monastery of the Egyptian monks—"till they are
bent double with old age."

chap. 4

Iuramentum et *maledictum* velut
venenum diaboli fugere et vitare
contendant.

p. 150, ll. 15-16; 20-21.

Non *iurent*, quia dominus dixit:
"Nolite iurare omnino, sed sit sermo
vester, est, est, non, non."¹⁸⁸

Non *maledicant*, quia scriptum
est: "Neque maledici regnum dei
non possedebunt."¹⁸⁹

*Inst.*¹⁹¹

IV, 3.

Ei ergo, quae deo inspirante con-
vertitur, non licebit *statim habitum*
religionis adsumere, nisi ante in
multis experimentis fuerit voluntas
illius *adprobata*; sed uni de seniori-
bus tradita per annum integrum in
eo, quo venit, habitu perseveret. De
ipso tamen habitu mutando, vel lecto
in scola habendo, sit in potestate
prioris; et quomodo personam vel
conjunctionem viderit, ita vel cele-
rius vel tardius studeat temperare.

¹⁸⁷ Ed. Morin, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 5-26.¹⁸⁸ Ed. Morin, *Opera* II, 149-54.¹⁸⁹ Matt. 5: 34, 37.¹⁹¹ Ed. Petschenig, CSEL, XVII, 3-231.*Reg. mon.*¹⁹⁰

p. 149, l. 11.

In *primis* si quis ad conversionem
venerit, ea condicione excipiat, ut
usque mortem suam ibi perseverit.

optet intrare, iniuriis quoque et
exprobationibus multis adfectus ex-
perimentum dederit constantiae suae,
qualisque futurus sit in temptationi-
bus, obprobriorum tolerantia decla-
raverit, . . .

IV, 7.

Cum igitur quis susceptus et hac
perseverantia qua diximus *conpro-
batus* ac depositis propriis indu-
mentis *habitu monasteriali* fuerit
accinctus, non *statim* congregationi
fratrum commisceri permittitur, sed
deputatur *seniori*, qui seorsum haud
longe a vestibulo monasterii com-
manens habet curam peregrinorum
atque advenientium deputatam eis-
que omnem diligentiam susceptionis
et humanitatis impendit. . . .

Reg. virg.

chap. 5

Quae autem viduae, aut maritis
relictis, aut *mutatis vestibus* ad
monasterium veniunt, non excipian-
tur, *nisi antea de omni facultatibus*
sua, cui voluerint, *cartas*, aut dona-
tiones, aut *venditiones* faciant, ita
ut nihil suae potestati, quod pecu-
liariter aut ordinare aut possidere
videantur, reservent, propter illud
domini: "*Si vis perfectus esse, vade,
vende omnia quae possides*;"¹⁹² et
"Si quis non reliquerit omnia, et
secutus me fuerit, non potest meus
esse discipulus."¹⁹⁴ Hoc ideo dico,
venerabiles filiae, quia sanctimoni-
ales, quae possessionem habuerint,
perfectionem habere non poterint.
Quam rem etiam et illae, quae vir-
gines convertuntur, si implere nolu-

Reg. mon.

p. 149, l. 12; p. 150, ll. 1-5.

Vestimenta vero laica non et mu-
tentur, *nisi antea de facultate sua*
cartas venditionis, sicut dominus
praecepit dicens: "*Si vis perfectus*
esse, vade, vende omnia quae habes,
da pauperibus, et veni, sequere me."¹⁹³
Certe si non vult vindere, donationis
cartas aut parentibus aut monas-
terio faciat, dummodo liber sit, et
nihil habeat proprium.

¹⁹² Matt. 19: 21.¹⁹³ *Ibid.*¹⁹⁴ Cf. Luke 14: 26, 27, 33.

erint, aut non recipiantur, aut certe vestimenta religiosa non permittantur accipere, donec se ab omnibus impedimentis mundi istius liberas fecerint.

chap. 6

Illae vero, quae adhuc vicia parentibus substantiam suam in potestate habere non possunt, aut adhuc minoris aetatis sunt, cartas tunc facere compellantur, quando res parentum in potestate habere poterint, ante ad legitimam aetatem pervenerint. Ideo hoc sanctis animabus vestris praecipimus, timentes exemplum Ananiae et Sapphirae, qui, cum totum se dixissent apostolis obtulisse, partem obtulerunt, partem sibi infideliter reservaverunt, quod fieri nec decet, nec licet, nec expedit.

Inst. IV, 3-4.

Cassian speaks of the necessity of stripping oneself of all possessions before entrance to the monastery in order to gain humility and other religious virtues.

The whole of *Inst. VII* deals with the evils of covetousness. Chaps. 7, 9, 15, 17, 18, 25 and 27 apply particularly to *Reg. virg.*, chaps. 5 and 6, especially chap. 25 with its reference to Ananias and Sapphira. Nowhere, however, does Cassian demand a written document of renunciation of goods, as does Caesarius. For other references to Ananias and Sapphira see *Conl. I, 19; II, 15; VI, 11; XVIII, 7; XXI, 30.*

Reg. virg.

chap. 8.

Nemo sibi aliquid operis vel artificii pro suo libitu eligat faciendum; sed in arbitrio senioris erit quod utile prospexerit imperandum.

Inst. IV, has as constantly recurring theme, the necessity of renouncing one's own will through obedience, especially of a junior to a senior. Chaps. 7, 8, 10, 23, 29, 41 deal directly with the subject.

p. 150, ll. 5-11.

Si vero pater eius aut mater vivent, et non habet potestatem faciendi, quando illi migraverint, tunc cogatur facere. Quaecumque secum exhibuit abbati tradit; nihil sibi reservet; et si ei aliquis de propinquis aliquid transmiserit offerat abbati. Si ipsi est necessarium, ipso iubente habeat; si illi necesse non est, in commune redactum, cui opus est tribuatur.

(The following passage is from the so-called *Regula Macarii* [PL, CIII, 448-52] once thought to have been a source for Caesarius, but now rejected. See pp. 97-98 *supra* for an account of this rule and the reason for showing it here.)

Regula Macarii

chap. 30, col. 451-52.

Illud etiam attendendum fuit, ut intro monasterium artificium non faciat ullus, nisi ille cuius fides probata fuerit, qui ad utilitatem et necessitatem monasterii faciat poterit facere.

chap. 9.

p. 150, ll. 13-14.

Nulli liceat remotam eligere mansionem, nec habere cubiculum vel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiariter claudi possit; sed omnes divisus lectulis in una maneat cellula. Quae vero senes sunt et infirmas, ita illis convenit obtemperari vel ordinari, ut non singulae singulas cellas habeant, sed in una recipiantur omnes, ubi et maneat.

Cellam peculiarem, aut amarium, vel quamlibet clausuram nullus habeat; in una scola omnes maneat.

Inst. IV, 13.

... nulli peculiarem sportam liceat possidere nec tale aliquid, quod velut proprium retinens suo debeat communire signaculo. . . .

IV, 15.

Ad haec nos miserabiles quid dicimus, qui in coenobiis commorantes ac sub abbatis cura et sollicitudine constitui peculiares circumferimus claves, omnique professionis nostrae verecundia et confusione calcata etiam anulos, quibus recondita praesignemus, in digitis palam gestare nos non pudet, quibus non solum cistellae vel sportae, sed ne arcae quidem vel armaria ad ea, quae congerimus vel quae egressi de saeculo reservavimus, condenda sufficiunt, eas dumtaxat velut proprias vindicantes, . . .

chap. 10.

p. 150, l. 24.

Similiter, dum psallitur, fabulari omnino vel operari non liceat. Dum psallitur, nullus loqui praesumat.

Inst., II, 10.

Cassian describes the silence and reverence of the Egyptian monks when they meet for the chanting of the psalms.

Reg. virg.

chap. 11.

Nulla cuiuslibet filiam in baptismo, neque divitis neque pauperis, praesumat excipere: quia quae suorum libertatem pro dei amore contempsit, aliorum expetere vel habere non debet; ut sine aliquo impedimento deo vacare iugiter possit.

chap. 12.

Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus dei vel ad opera venerit, increpationi, ut dignum est, subiacebit. Quod si secundo aut tertio ammonita emendare noluerit, a communione vel a convivio separetur.

Inst., III, 7.

Is vero, quo in tertia, sexta vel none, priusquam coeptus finiatur psalmus, ad orationem non occurrerit, ulterius oratorium introire non audeat nec semet ipsum admiscere psallentibus, sed congregationis missam stans pro foribus praestolatur, donec egredientibus cunctis summissa in terram paenitentia negligentiae suae vel tarditatis impetret veniam, . . . eidem procul dubio *increpationi* ac paenitentiae quam praediximus *subiciendus*, si ultra praestitutam dilationis horam vel modicum retardarit.

chap. 13.

Quae pro qualibet culpa ammonetur, castigatur, corripitur, arguenti respondere penitus non praesumat; quae aliquid ex his quae iubentur implere noluerit, a communione orationis vel a mensa secundum qualitatem culpae sequestrabitur.

Inst., IV, 3, 7.

Cassian speaks of the humility and patience under rebuke and mistreatment which the candidate for the monastery must show himself to possess.

chap. 16, col. 448.

Hoc etiam attendendum fuit, ut frater qui *pro qualibet culpa* arguitur vel increpatur, patientiam habeat et *non respondet*

Reg. mon.

p. 150, l. 30.

Filium de baptismum nullus excipiat.

p. 151, ll. 1-2.

Qui in remoto loco est, signo tacto ad omne opus dei nullus tardius veniat: si tardius venerit, statim de ferolem in manus accipiat.

arguenti se: sed humiliet se in omnibus, secundum praeceptum Domini dicentis: "Quia Deus humilibus dat gratiam, superbis autem restitit."¹⁹⁶ Et, "Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur."¹⁹⁶ chap. 17, col. 448.

Qui vero saepius corripitur et non se emendaverit, novissimus in ordine stare iubeatur. Qui, si nec sic quidem se *emendaverit*, extraneus habeatur, sicut Dominus dixit: "Sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus."¹⁹⁷

Reg. virg.

chap. 14.

Quae coquent, singuli illis meri pro labore addantur. In omni *ministerium* corporali, tam in coquina, vel quicquid cotidianus exigit usus, vicibus sibi, excepta matre vel praeposita, *succedere* debent.

Inst., IV, 19.

. . . Per cunctam namque Mesopotamiam, Palaestinam et Cappadociam ac totum Orientem singuli ebdomadibus vicissim fratres ad haec officia sibi reddenda *succedunt*, ita ut secundum multitudinem coenobii *ministeriorum* quoque numerus deputetur. . . .

chap. 15.

In vigiliis, ut nemo per otium *somno gravetur*, ea opera fiat, quae mentem non retrahat a lectionis auditu. Si qua *gravatur somno* aliis sedentibus iubeatur stare, ut possit a se somni marcorem repellere ne in opere dei aut tepida inveniatur aut negligens.

Inst., II, 7.

Cassian praises the custom of the Egyptian monks in spending a considerable part of their prayer time in standing, noting that those Gallic monks who prostrate themselves for a long time in prayer, do so more for a desire of rest, than for reverence.

Regula Macarii

chap. 15, col. 449.

Operam Deo dabunt singuli fratres tempore quo missae *in vigiliis* observandis fiunt, quando omnes conveniunt, ne deficient. Quicunque *gravatur somno*, exeat foras, non se fabulis occupet: sed statim redeat ad opus, quo convenitur. In congregatione autem ipsa ubi legitur, aures semper ad scripturas habeant, et silentium observent.

¹⁹⁶ James 4: 7.¹⁹⁶ Matt. 23: 12.¹⁹⁷ Matt. 18: 18.

chap. 16.

In ipsis lanificiis faciendum pen-
sum suum cotidianum cum humili-
tate accipiant, et cum grandi indu-
stria implere contendant.

Inst., II, 14.

Cassian treats of daily manual labor as good discipline for the
mind and heart and therefore helpful for prayer.

Reg. virg.

chap. 17.

*Nemo sibi aliquid iudicet pro-
prium, sine in vestimento, sive in
quacunque alia re.*

*Nemo cum murmuratione aliquid
faciat, ne simili iudicio murmura-
torum pereat, secundum illud apo-
stoli: "Omnia facite sine murmura-
tionibus."*¹⁹⁹

*Reg. sec.*²⁰⁰

p. 319, chap. 4.

*Nemo sibi aliquid suum vindicet
proprium, sive in vestimento, sive
in quacunque re; apostolicam enim
vitam optamus vivere.*

p. 319, chap. 5.

*Nemo cum murmurio aliquid fa-
ciat, ut non simili iudicio murmura-
torum pereat.*

chap. 18.

*Matri post deum omnes oboediant;
praepositae deferant.*

*Sedentes ad mensam taceant, et
animum lectioni intendant. Cum
autem lectio cessaverit, meditatio
sancta de corde non cesset. Si vero
aliquid opus fuerit, quae mensae
praeest, sollicitudinem gerat, et quod
est necessarium nutu magis quam
voce petatur. Neo solae vobis fauces
sumant cibum, sed et aures audiant
dei verbum.*

Omnes litteras discant.

*Reg. Aug.*²⁰¹

p. 321, chap. 8.

*... Neo solae vobis fauces sumant
cibum, sed et aures eauriant dei
verbum.*

¹⁹⁹ Ed. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1930), 318-19.

²⁰⁰ Philipp. 2: 14.

²⁰¹ Ed. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.*, XLIII (1930), 320-26.

Reg. mon., p. 150, ll. 26-30.

Ad mensam dum manducant, nullus loquatur, sed unus legat
quemcumque librum; ut sicut corpus reficitur terreno cybo, ita
anima reficiatur dei verbo. Sic dicit dominus: "Non in pane solo
vivit homo, sed ex omni verbo, dei."²⁰² Qualis est terra sine
pluvia, et caro sine cibo, talis est anima, si non reficiatur dei
verbo.

Inst., IV, 17.

Illud autem, ut reficientibus fratribus sacrae lectiones in coeno-
biis recitentur, non de Aegyptiorum typo processisse, sed de Cappa-
docum noverimus. . . . Apud Aegyptios . . . tantum silentium
ab omnibus exhibetur, ut cum in unum tanta numerositas fratrum
refectionis obtentu consederit, nullus ne muttire quidem audeat
praeter eum, qui suae decaniae praeest, qui tamen si quid mensae
superinferri vel auferri necessarium esse perviderit, sonitu potius
quam voce significat.

Reg. virg.

chap. 19.

19. Omni tempore duabus horis,
hoc est, a mane usque ad horam
secundam lectioni vacent. Reliquo
vero diei spatio faciant opera sua,
et non se fabulis occupent, propter
illud apostoli: "Cum silentio ope-
rantes";²⁰³ et illud: "In multilo-
quio non effugies peccatum."²⁰⁴ Et
ideo hoc vobis omnino loquendum
est, quod ad aedificationem vel utili-
tatem animae pertinet.

Reg. sec.

p. 319, chap. 3.

Operentur a mane usque ad sex-
tam, et a sexta usque ad nonam
vacent lectioni, et ad nonam vacent
lectioni et ad nonam reddant codices,
et, postquam refecerint, sive in horto,
sive ubicumque necesse fuerit, fa-
ciant opus ad horam lucernarii.

p. 319, chap. 9.

Otiosum verbum apud illos non
sit, a mane ad opera sum sedeant,
post orationes tertiae eant similiter
ad opera sua; non stantes fabulas
contexant, nisi forte aliquid sit pro
animae utilitate. Sedentes ad opera
taceant, nisi forte necessitas operis
exegerit ut loquatur quis.

Reg. mon., p. 151, ll. 25-26.

Omnia tempore usque ad tertia legant; post tertia unusquisque
opera sibi iniuncta faciat.

²⁰² Matt. 4: 4.

²⁰³ II Thess. 3: 12.

²⁰⁴ Prov. 10: 19.

Inst., II, 15.

Finitis igitur psalmis et cotidiana congregatione, sicut superius memoravimus, absoluta nullus eorum vel ad modicum subsistere aut sermocinari audeat cum altero, . . . Sed sic unusquisque opus exsequitur iniunctum, ut psalmum vel scripturam quamlibet memoriter recensendo non solum conspirationi noxiae vel consiliis pravis, sed ne otiosis quidem conloquiis ullam copiam vel tempus impertiat, oris pariter et cordis officio in meditatione spiritali iugiter occupato.

chap. 20.

Sit vobis "anima una et cor unum" ²⁰⁴domino"; ²⁰⁴sint vobis omnia communia; sic enim legitur in Actibus apostolorum, quia "erant illis omnia communia, et distribuebatur unicuique sicut cuique opus erat." ²⁰⁵

Reg. Aug.

p. 320, chap. 5.

Primum propter quod in uno estis congregati ut unanimes habitetis in domo, et sit vobis "anima una et cor unum" ²⁰⁴in deo, et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint vobis omnia communia et distribuatur unicuique vestrum a praeposito vestro victum et tegumentum, non aequaliter omnibus, quia non aequaliter valetis omnes, sed potius unicuique sicut opus fuerit, sic enim legitis in actibus apostolorum quia "erant eis omnia communia et distribuebatur unicuique sicut cuique opus erat." ²⁰⁵

chap. 21.

Quae aliquid habebant in saeculo. quando ingrediuntur monasterium, humiliter illud offerant matri, communibus usibus profuturum. Quae autem non habuerunt, non ea quaerant in monasterio quae nec foris habere potuerunt.

²⁰⁴ Acts 4: 32.²⁰⁵ Acts 4: 35.

Reg. virg.

chap. 21 (con't.).

Illae vero, quae aliquid videbantur habere in saeculo, non fastidiant sorores suas quae ad illam sanctam societatem ex paupertate venerunt; nec sic de suis divitiis superbiunt, quas monasterio obtulerunt, quomodo si eis in saeculo fruerentur. ²⁰⁶Quid prodest dispergere, et dando pauperibus pauperem fieri, si misera anima diabolica infletur superbia? Omnes ergo unanimiter et concorditer vivite, et honorate in vobis invicem deum, cuius templa esse meruistis.

Reg. Aug.

p. 320, chap. 6.

Nec erigant, cervicem quia sociantur eis, ad quos foras accedere non audebant, sed sursum cor habebant, et terrena bona non quaerant, ne incipiant esse monasteria divitiibus utilia, non pauperibus, si divites illic humiliantur, et pauperes illic infantur. Sed rursus etiam illi qui aliquid esse videbantur in saeculo, non habeant fastidio fratres suos, qui ad illam sanctam societatem ex paupertate venerunt: magis autem student non de parentum divitum dignitate, sed de pauperum fratrum societate gloriari. Nec extollantur, si communi vitae de suis facultatibus aliquid contulerunt; nec de suis divitiis magis superbiunt, quia eas in monasterio partiuntur, quam si eis in saeculo fruerentur. ²⁰⁶Et quid prodest dispergere dando pauperibus et pauperem fieri, cum anima misera superbior efficitur divitiis contemnendo quam fuerat possidendo? Omnes ergo unanimiter et concorditer vivite et honorate in vobis invicem deum, cuius templa facti estis.

pp. 320-321, chap. 7.

Orationibus sine intermissione insistite, secundum, illud evangelii: "orantes omni tempore, ut digni habeamini"; ²⁰⁷et apostolus: "Sine intermissione orate." ²⁰⁸

chap. 21 (con't.).

Orationibus sine intermissione insistite, secundum, illud evangelii: "orantes omni tempore, ut digni habeamini"; ²⁰⁷et apostolus: "Sine intermissione orate." ²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Between ". . . saecula fruerentur" and "Et quid prodest . . ." in Reg. sor. the following sentence occurs: "Alia quippe quaecumque iniquitas in malis operibus exercetur ut flant; superbia vero etiam bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant." Reg. virg. follows Reg. Aug., as can be seen, in omitting it. De Bruyne, op. cit., p. 338, noted this omission as evidence that Reg. virg. depends on Reg. Aug. Morin (ed. Reg. virg., Flor. Patris., XXXIV, 9) cited this passage as dependent on Reg. sor.

²⁰⁷ Luke 21: 36.²⁰⁸ I Thess. 5: 17.

constitutas, si eis vacat, orare voluerint, non eis sint impedimento qui ibi aliquid agendum putaverunt. *Psalmis et hymnis cum oratis deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in voce.* Et nolite cantare nisi quod legitis esse cantandum; quod autem non ita scriptum est ut cantetur non cantetur.

Reg. Aug.

p. 321, chap. 9.

Qui infirmi sunt ex pristina consuetudine, si aliter tractantur in victu, non debet aliis molestum esse nec iniustum videri, quos fecit alia consuetudo fortiores. . . . Sane quemadmodum aegrotantes necesse habent minus accipere, ne graventur, ita et post aegritudinem sic tractandi sunt, ut citius recreentur, etiam si de humillima saeculi paupertate venerunt, tamquam hoc illis contulerit recentior aegritudo, quod divitiibus anterior consuetudo. *Sed cum vires pristinas reparaverint, redeant ad feliciter consuetudinem suam, quae famulos dei tanto amplius decet quanto minus indigent, nec ibi eos teneat voluptas iam vegetos, quo necessitas levarat infirmos.* Illi se aestiment ditiores, qui in sustinenda parcitate fuerint fortiores; melius est enim minus egere quam plus habere.

Reg. mon., p. 152, l. 4.

Infirmi sic tractentur, ut citius convalescant.

pp. 321-322, chap. 10.

Non sit notabilis habitus vester, nec affectetis vestibus placere, sed moribus. Quando proceditis, simul ambulate; cum veneritis quo itis, simul state. In incessu, in statu,

chap. 22.

Cum vero psalmis et hymnis oratis deum, id versetur in corde, quod profertur in voce. Quodcumque operis feceritis, quando lectio, non legitur, de divinis scripturis semper aliquid ruminare.

Reg. virg.

chap. 22 (cont.).

Aegrotantes vero sic tractandae sunt, ut citius convalescant; sed cum vires pristinas reparaverint, redeant ad feliciter abstinentiae consuetudinem.

chap. 23.

Nulla in vobis concupiscentia oculorum cuiuscumque viri diabolo instigante consurgat; *nec dicatis vos agimus habere pudicos, si oculos impudicos habeatis; quia impudicus oculus impudici cordis est nuntius.* *Nec putare debet, quae in virum ab aliis se non videri, cum haec facit: videtur omnino, a quibus se videtur non arbitratur. Sed ecce lateat, ut a nemine hominum videatur, quid facit de illo superinspector, cui omnino latere non potest? Timeat ergo displicere deo; cogitet ne male placeat viro. Quando ergo simul statis, si aut provisor monasterii, aut aliquis cum eo virorum supervenerit, invicem vestram pudicitiam custodite: deus enim, qui habitat in vobis, etiam isto modo vos custodit.*

Reg. virg.

Reg. Aug.

Videtur omnino et a quibus se videri non arbitratur. Sed ecce lateat et a nemine hominum videatur. Quid faciet de illo desuper inspectore quem latere nihil potest? An ideo putandus est non videre, quia tanto videt patientius quanto sapientius? Illi ergo vir sanctus timeat displicere, ne velit feminae male placere; illum cogitet omnia videre, ne velit feminam male videre. Illius

¹⁰⁰ *Reg. sor.* contains the more exact parallel form—" . . . quae in maculo figit oculum . . ."—to *Reg. Aug.'s* " . . . in femina . . ." See p. — *supra* for Lambot on the significance of these texts and " . . . in virum . . ." of *Reg. virg.* Morin (*Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 9-10), cited *Reg. Aug.* for the dependence of this passage.

in omnibus motibus vestris nihil fiat quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, sed quod vestram deceat sanctitatem. Oculi vestri, etsi iaciuntur in aliquam feminarum, figantur in nullam. Neque enim, quando procceditis, feminas videre prohibemini, sed adpetere aut ab ipsis adpeti velle crimosum est. Nec solo tactu et effectum, sed affectu et aspectu quoque adpetitur et adpetit concupiscentia feminarum. *Nec dicatis vos animos habere pudicos, si habeatis oculos impudicos, quia impudicus oculus impudici cordis est nuntius.* Et cum se invicem sibi met, etiam tacente lingua, conspectu mutuo corda nuntiant impudica et secundum concupiscentiam carnis alterutro delectantur ardore, etiam intactis ab immunda violatione corporibus, fugit castitas ipsa de moribus. *Nec putare debet qui in femina figit oculum et illius in se ipse diligit fluxum, ab aliis se non videri cum hoc facit.*

namque et in hac causa commendatus est timor, ubi scriptum est: "abominatio est domino defigens oculum." ²¹⁰ *Quando ergo simul estis in ecclesia, et ubicumque ubi et feminae sunt, invicem vestram pudicitiam custodite. Deus enim qui habitat in vobis, etiam isto modo vos custodiat ex vobis.*

p. 322, chap. 11.

Et si hanc, de qua loquor, oculi petulantium in aliquo vestrum adverteritis, statim admonete, ne coepta progrediantur, sed de proximo corrigantur. . . . *Nec vos iudicetis esse malivolos, quando hos indicatis; magis quippe innocentes non estis, si fratres vestros, quos indicando corrigere potestis, tacendo perire permititis. Si enim frater tuus vulnus haberet in corpore, quod vellet occultare, cum timet secari, nonne crudeliter abs te sileretur et misericorditer indicaretur? Quanto ergo potius cum debes manifestare, ne deterius putrescat in corde! Sed antequam aliis demonstretur, per quos convincendus est, si negaverit, prius praeposito debet ostendi, si admonitus neglexerit corrigi, ne forte possit secretius correptus non innotescere ceteris. Si autem negaverit, tunc nescienti adhibendi sunt alii, ut etiam coram omnibus possit, non ab uno teste argui, sed a duobus tribusve convinci. Convictus vero secundum praepositi vel etiam presbyteri ad cuius dispensationem pertinet, arbitrium debet emendatorium subire vindictam. Quam si ferre recusaverit, etiam si ipse non abscesserit, de vestra societate proiciatur.*

chap. 24.

Si quidem vero liberius quam decet agere videritis, secretius corripite ut sororem: si audire neglexerit, matri in notitiam ponite. *Nec vos iudicetis esse malivolos, quando hoc sancto animo indicatis; magis enim innocentes non estis, et peccato ipsius participes vos facitis, si sororem vestram, quam castigando corrigere potuistis, tacendo perire permititis. Si enim vulnus haberet in corpore, aut esset a serpente percussa, et vellet hoc occultare, dum timet secari, nonne crudeliter hoc taceretur, et misericorditer prodederetur? Quanto magis ergo consilia diaboli et insidias illius manifestare debetis, ne in deterius vulnus peccati augeatur in corde, ne concupiscentiae malum diutius nutriatur in pectore? Et hoc facite cum dilectione sororis et odio vitiorum.*

tur. Non enim et hoc sit crudeliter, sed misericorditer, ne contagione pestifera plurimos perdat. Et hoc quod dixi de oculo non agendo, etiam in ceteris inveniendis, prohibendis, indicandis, convincendis, vindicandisque peccatis diligenter et fideliter observetur cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum.

Reg. Aug.

p. 323, chap. 11 (con't.).

Quicumque autem in tantum progressus fuerit malum, ut occulte ab aliqua litteras vel quaelibet munuscula accipiat, si hoc ultro confitetur, parcat illi et ore tur pro illo. Si autem deprehenditur atque convinctur, secundum arbitrium presbyteri vel praepositi gravius emendetur.

Reg. virg.

chap. 25.

Quaecumque autem, quod deus non patiat, in tantum progressa fuerit malum, ut occulte ab aliquo litteras aut quaelibet mandata aut munuscula accipiat, si hoc ultro confessa fuerit, indulgentiam mereatur, et ore tur pro ea; si autem celans proditur, vel convinctur, secundum statuta monasterii gravius emendetur. Simili etiam districtiori subiacet, si vel ipsa cuicumque litteras aut munuscula transmittere sacrilego ausu praesumpserit. Pro affectu tamen parentum, aut cuiuscumque notitia, si aliqua transmittere voluerit eulogiam panis, matri suggerat; et, si ipsa permiserit, per posticiarias det, et ipsae nomine illius transmittant, cui voluerit; ipsa sine praeposita aut posticiaria per se non praesumat nec dare nec accipere quicquam.

Reg. mon.

p. 152, ll. 1-3.

Victum et vestimenta abba ministret: quia sicut sanctum est ut nihil proprium habeant, ita iustum est ut illis quae necessaria fuerint a sancto abbate accipiant.

chap. 27.

Et quia monasterii mater necesse habet pro animarum salute sollicitudinem gerere, et de substantiis monasterii, quod ad victum corporis opus est, iugiter cogitare, salutantibus etiam affectum impendere, et epistolis quorumcumque fidelium respondere, omnis lanificii cura, unde

²¹⁰ Prov. 27 : 20.

vestimenta sanctis sororibus ministrantur, ad sollicitudinem praepositae vel lanipendiae pertinebit. Per quarum industriam ita fideliter cum zelo et amore dei vestimenta quaecumque necessaria sunt praeparantur, ut quotienscumque sanctis sororibus opus fuerit, cum sancta discretionem dispenset.

chap. 28.

Quae tamen vestimenta cum tanta industria in monasterio fiant, ut ea numquam necesse sit abbatissae extra monasterium comparare. *Et non ad vos pertineat*, quale vobis indumentum pro temporis congruentia proferatur. *Si autem hinc inter vos contentiones et murmuratio oriuntur*, si aliqua ex vobis minus forte dignum aliquid acceperint quam prius habuerunt, hinc vos probate, quantum vobis desit in illo interiore sancto habitu cordis, quae pro habitu corporis murmuratio. Tamen si vestra toleratur infirmitas, ut amplius quam usus cotidianus exigit habeatis, in uno tamen loco sub communi custodia quod habueritis reponite, et claves de arcellis vel puerioliis vestris registoraria teneat.

Reg. virg.

chap. 29.

Nulla sibi aliquid proprium operetur,²¹¹ nisi cui abbatissa praeceperit

²¹¹ Between "... operetur ..." and "... sed omnia opera ..." Reg.

Reg. Aug.

p. 323, chap. 12.

Vestes vestras in una habete sub uno custode vel duobus vel quod sufficere potuerint ad eas excutendas, ne a tineas laedantur; et sicut pascimini ex uno cellario, sic induamini ex uno vestiario. Et si fieri potest, non ad vos pertineat, quid vobis induendum pro temporis congruentia proferatur, utrum hoc recipiat unusquisque vestrum, quod deposuerat, an aliud, quod alter habuerat, dum tamen unicuique, quod opus est, non negetur. *Si autem hinc inter vos contentiones et murmuratio oriuntur*, cum queritur aliquid deterius se accepisse quam prius habuerat, et indignum se esse qui non ita vestiatur sicut alius frater eius vestiebatur, hinc vos probate, quantum vobis desit in illo interiore sancto habitu cordis, qui pro habitu corporis litigatis. Tamen si vestra toleratur infirmitas, ut hoc recipiat, quod posueritis, in uno tamen loco sub communibus custodibus habete quod ponitis.

Reg. Aug.

p. 323, chap. 12 (cont.).

Ita sane, ut nullus sibi aliquid operetur,²¹¹ sed omnia opera vestra in

aut permiserit; sed omnia opera vestra in commune fiant, tam sancto studio et tam ferventi alacritate, quomodo si vobis propria faceretis.

commune fiant maiore studio et frequentiore alacritate quam si vobis singuli propria faceretis. Caritas enim de qua scriptum est quod "non quaerit quae sua sunt,"²¹² sic intellegitur quia communia propriis, non propria communibus anteponit. Et ideo, quanto amplius rem communem quam propriam vestram curaveritis, tanto vos amplius promoveritis, ut in omnibus, quibus utitur transitura necessitas, supereminet quae permanet caritas.

Reg. mon.

p. 154, ll. 1-2.

Ad lectum suum nullus praesumat habere quod manducetur aut bibatur.

chap. 30.

Ad cellarium et ad posticium vel lanipendium tales a seniore eligantur, non quae voluntates aliquarum, sed necessitates omnium cum timore dei considerent; et ideo quicquid ad manducandum vel ad bibendum pertinet, nulla de sororibus praesumat circa lectum suum reponere aut habere. Quaecumque autem hoc fecerit, gravissimam distractionem sustineat. Ante omnia coram deo et angelis eius obtestor, ut nulla de sororibus vinum occulte aut emat aut undecumque transmissum accipiat; . . .

chap. 31.

Lavacra etiam, cuius infirmitas exposcit, minime denegentur; sed fiat sine murmuratione de consilio medicinae, ita ut, etiam si lavare nolit illa quae infirma est, iubente

Reg. Aug.

p. 324, chap. 13.

Indumenta vestra secundum arbitrium praepositi laventur, sive a vobis sive a fullonibus, ne interiores animae sordes contrahat mundae vestis nimius adpetitus. *Lavacrum*

sor. reads "... sive unde induatur sive ubi iaceat sive unde cingatur vel operiatur vel caput contegat; ..." Reg. virg. omits these clauses. See p. 125 for discussion of these texts. Morin, ed. Reg. virg., Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 11, cited Reg. sor. as the source for this passage.

²¹² I Cor. 13: 15.

seniore fiat, quod opus fuerit pro salute.²¹³ Si autem nulla infirmitate compellitur, cupiditati suae non praebeatur assensus.

etiam corporum, cuius infirmitatis necessitas cogit, minime denegetur, sed fiat sine murmure de consilio medicinae, ita ut, etiam si nolit, iubente praeposito, faciat quod faciendum est pro salute.²¹⁴ Si autem velit et forte non expedit, suae cupiditati non obediat. Aliquando enim, etiam si noceat, prodesset creditur quod delectat. Denique, si latens est dolor in corpore, famulo dei, dicenti quid sibi doleat, sine dubitatione credatur; sed tamen, utrum sanando illi dolori quod delectat expedit, si non est certum, medicus consulatur. Nec eant ad balneas sive quocumque ire necesse fuerit, minus quam duo vel tres. Nec ille qui habet aliquo eundi necessitatem, [cum quibus ipse voluerit], sed cum quibus praepositus iusserit, ire debeat.

Reg. virg.

chap. 32.

Aegrotantium cura sive aliqua infirmitate laborantium uni satis fidei et compunctae debet iniungi, quae de cellario petat quodecumque opus esse praesceperit. Et talis eligi debet, quae et monasterialem rigorem custodiat, et infirmis cum pietate deserviat. Et si hoc necessitas infirmarum exegerit, et matri monasterii iustum visum fuerit, etiam cellariolum et coquinam suam infirmarum in commune habeant.

²¹³ *Reg. sor.* reads as follows on baths: "Lavacrum etiam corporum usque balnearum non sit assiduus, sed eo, quo solet, temporis intervallo tribuatur, hoc est semel in mense. Cuius autem infirmitatis necessitas cogit lavandum corpus, non longius differatur; fiat sine murmure de consilio medicinae, ita ut, etiam si nolit, iubente praeposita faciat, quod faciendum est pro salute." See pp. 122-23 for Lambot's notes on these texts. Morin, ed., *Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 12, cited *Reg. Aug.* as St. Caesarius' source.

Quae cellario sive canave sive vestibus vel codicibus aut posticio vel lanipendio praeponuntur de super evangelium claves accipiant, et sine murmuratione serviant reliquis. Si utensilia neglegenter expendenda vel quae vero vestimenta, calciamenta, custodienda putaverint, tamquam interversores rerum monasterialium severius corrigantur.

Inst., IV, 19.

... ita secunda sabbati post matutinos hymnos aliis rursum succedentibus utensilia in quibus ministraverunt ac vasa consignant. Quae tanta sollicitudine curaque suscipientes custodiunt, ne quid ex eis imminuatur vel pereat, ut credant se etiam pro minimis quibusque vasibus tamquam pro sacrosanctis rationem non solum dispensatori praesenti, sed etiam domino reddituros, si forte aliquid ex eis neglegentia eorum fuerit imminutum.

chap. 33.

*Lites nullas habeatis, secundum illud apostoli: "Servum dei non oportet litigare,"*²¹⁵ et illud: "Abstine a lite, et minues peccata";²¹⁶ aut si fuerint, quam celerius finiatur, ne ira crescat in odium, et festuca convertatur in trabem, et efficiatur anima homicida.²¹⁷ Sic enim legis: "Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est,"²¹⁷ et: "Levantes sanctas manus sine ira et disceptatione,"²¹⁸ Quaecumque convicio vel maledicto vel etiam criminis obiectu laeserit

p. 324, chap. 14.

*Lites aut nullas habeatis aut quam celerrime finiat, ne ira crescat in odium et trabem faciat de festuca et animam faciat homicidam.*²¹⁵ Sic enim legis: "Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est."²¹⁷ Quicumque convicio vel maledicto vel etiam criminis obiectu aliquem laesit, minuit satisfactione quantocius curare quod fecit, et ille qui laesus est sine disceptatione dimittere.

²¹⁴ II Tim. 2: 24.

²¹⁵ Between "... faciat homicidam" and "Quaecumque convicio ..."

Reg. sor. contains the following point especially for women religious: "Neque enim ad solos viros pertinet, quod scriptum est: "Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est," sed sexu masculino, quem primum deus fecit, etiam femineus sexus praeceptum accipit." The *Rule for Nuns* follows *Reg. Aug.* in omitting this sentence. See p. 125 for discussion of this omission. Morin, *Reg. virg.*, p. 13, cited *Reg. sor.* as the source for St. Caesarius' rule, but this is obviously inaccurate.

²¹⁷ I Jn. 3: 15.

²¹⁸ I Tim. 2: 8.

²¹⁵ Eccli. 28: 20.

sororem suam, meminerit culpam satisfactione purgare. Quod vitium si iterare praesumpserit, distributione severissima feriatur, usque quo per satisfactionem recipi mereatur. Iuniores praecipue senioribus deferant.

Reg. mon., p. 151, ll. 5-6.

Lites inter vos non habeatis; sic enim dicit apostolus: "Servum domini non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse. . ."

Reg. virg.

chap. 34.

Si qua vero pro quacunque re excommunicata fuerit, remota a congregatione, in loco, quo abbatissa iusserit, cum una de spiritalibus sororibus resideat, quo usque humiliter paenitendo indulgentiam accipiat. Si autem, ut fieri solet, stimulante diabolo, invicem se laeserint, invicem sibi veniam petere et debita relaxare debebunt, propter orationes, quas utique quanto crebriores, tanto puriores habere debent. Quod si illa, quae veniam petitur, indulgere sorori suae noluerit, a communione removeatur, et timeat illud, quia si non dimiserit, non dimittetur ei. Quae autem numquam vult petere veniam, aut non ex animo petit, aut quae petitur, si non dimittit, sine causa in monasterio esse videtur. Proinde vobis a verbis durioribus parcite: quae si admissa fuerint, non pigeat ex ipso ore proferre medicamenta, unde facta sunt vulnera.

Reg. mon., p. 154, ll. 3-4.

Qui pro aliqua culpa excommunicatus fuerit, in una cella recludatur, et cum uno seniore ibi legat, donec iubeatur ad veniam venire.

chap. 35.

Quando autem vos, quae praepositae estis, necessitas disciplinae pro malis moribus²¹⁹ coercentis dicere verba dura compellit, si etiam ipsa ipsius modum vos excessisse fortasse sentitis, non a vobis exigitur ut veniam postuletis; ne apud eas, quas oportet esse subiectas, dum nimium servatur humilitas²²⁰ regendi frangatur auctoritas. Sed tamen petenda venia est ab omnium domino, qui novit etiam eos, quos plus iusto forte corripitis, quanta benivolentia diligitis. Non autem carnalis sed spiritalis inter vos debet esse dilectio.

Reg. virg.

chap. 35.

Matri, quae omnium vestrum curam gerit, et propositae sine mutatione oboediatur, ne in illis caritas contristetur. Ipsae vero, quae vobis praesunt²²¹ cum caritate et vera pietate discretionem et regulam studeant custodire. Circa omnes scilicet monorum operum praebent exemplum: corripiant inquietas, consolentur pusillanimes, sustineant infirmas;²²² semper cogitantes deo se pro vobis reddituras esse rationem. Inde et vos magis sancte oboedindo, non solum vestri, sed etiam ipsarum miseremini; quae inter vos quanto in ordinatione superiores videntur, tanto in periculo maiori versantur.

²¹⁹ *Reg. sor.* reads: "... minoribus coercentis. . ." See p. 124 for discussion of these texts. Morin, ed., *Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 13, cited no source.

²²⁰ *Reg. sor.* reads: "... dum nimia servatur humilitas. . ." See p. 124 for discussion of these texts. Morin, ed., *Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 13, cited no source for this passage.

²²¹ *Reg. sor.* simply reads "Ipsa vero non se existimet. . ." See p. 123 for discussion of these texts. Morin, ed., *Reg. virg.*, Flor. Patris, XXXIV, 13, cited *Reg. Aug.* as Caesarius' source.

p. 325, chap. 14 (cont.).

Quando autem necessitas disciplinae moribus²¹⁹ coercentis dicere vos verba dura compellit, et etiam ipsa modum vos excessisse sentitis, non a vobis exigitur ut ab eis veniam postuletis, ne apud eos quos oportet esse subiectos, dum nimium servatur humilitas²²⁰ regendi frangatur auctoritas. Sed tamen petenda venia est ab omnium domino, qui novit etiam eos, quos plus iusto forte corripitis, quanta benivolentia diligitis. Non autem carnalis sed spiritalis inter vos debet esse dilectio.

Reg. Aug.

p. 325, chap. 15.

Praeposito tamquam patri oboediatur honore servato, ne in illo offendantur deus, multo magis praeposito, qui omnium vestrum curam gerit, Ut ergo cuncta ista serventur et, si quid servatum non fuerit, non negligenter praetoreatur, sed emendandum corrigendumque curetur, ad praepositum praecipue pertinebit ut ad presbyterum, cuius est apud vos maior auctoritas, referat, quod modum vel vires eius excedit. Ipse vero qui vobis praesert²²¹ non se existimet potestate dominante sed caritate serviente felicem. Honore coram vobis praelatus sit vobis, coram deo substratus sit pedibus

Rule for Nuns

150

Pro qua re non solum matri, sed etiam praepositae, primiceriae vel formariae cum reverentia humiliter oboedite.

vestris. Circa omnes se ipsum bonorum operum praebeat exemplum, corripiat inquietos, consolatur pusillanimes, suscipiat infirmos,²²² patiens sit ad omnes; disciplinam libens habeat, metuendus inponat. Et quamvis utrumque sit necessarium, tamen plus a vobis amari adpetat quam timeri, semper cogitans deo se pro vobis redditurum esse rationem. Unde vos magis obediendo non solum vestri, sed etiam ipsius miseremini, quia inter vos quanto in loco superiore, tanto in periculo maiore versatur.

Reg. mon.

p. 150, l. 31.

Mulieres in monasterio numquam ingrediantur.

chap. 30.

Ante omnia propter custodiendam famam vestram, nullus virorum in secreta parte in monasterio et in oratoriis introeat. . .

Reg. virg.

chap. 43.

Ante omnia observandum est, ut si suae filiae aliquis vel aliqua necestudine ad se pertinenti vestimenta vel aliquid aliud dederit sive transmiserit, non occulte accipiat: pro qua re omnibus quae ad posticium observaverint, contestor coram deo et angelis eius, ut nihil de monasterio permittant dari, vel a foris in monasterio intus acquiescant excipi, extra conscientiam vel consilium abbatis. Tamen si abbatissa, ut assolet, cum saluatoribus occupata fuerit, posticariae praepositae ostendant, quodcumque exhibitum fuerit. Quam rem si implere neglexerint, et illae posticariae, quae permittunt, et illae quae excipiunt, non solum

²²² Cf. I Thess. 5: 14.

districtiorem monasterii gravissimam sustinebunt, sed propter transgressionem sanctae regulae causam se necum ante deum noverint esse dicturas. Ipsum vero, quod transmissum fuerit, si illi opus ad usus suos fuerit, ipsa habeat; si vero illa nihil indiget, in comune redactum, cui est necessarium, praebeatur propter illud domini mandatum: "Qui habet duas tunicas, det non habenti."²²³ Indumenta vero ipsa, cum nova accipiunt, si vetera necessaria non habuerint, abbatisae refundant, pauperibus aut incipientibus vel iunioribus dispensanda.

Reg. mon., p. 151, ll. 27-28.

Nullus nihil occulte aliquid accipiat; praecipue epistolas sine scientia abbatis nullus accipiat nec transmittat.

Reg. virg.

chap. 07.

Ieiunium. A pentecost. usque ad kalendas septembris ab hinc eligite quo modo debeatis ieiunare, id est, quo modo virtutem vel possibilitatem viderit mater monasterii, sic studeat temperare. A kalendis septembris usque ad kalendas novembres secunda et quarta et sexta feria ieiunandum est: a kalendis vero novembribus usque ad natalem domini, exceptis festivitibus vel sabbato, omnibus diebus ieiunare oportet. Ante epiphaniam ieiunandum septem diebus. Ab epiphania vero usque ad anteriorem hebdomadam quadragesimae, secunda, quarta, et sexta feria ieiunandum est.

chap. 08.

. . . Dominica vero die vel sabbatorum, ad tertiam psalmi sex; post

²²³ Luke 3: 11.

Reg. mon.

p. 153, ll. 17-24.

A sanctum pascha usque mense septembre quarta et sexta tantum ieiunandum. A mense septembre usque domini natale cotidie ieiunandum. Iterum ante duas ebdomadas ante quadragesima cotidie ieiunandum, excepto dominica, in qua non licet penitus ieiunare propter resurrectionem domini: si quis die dominica ieiunaverit, peccat. A domini natale usque ante duas ebdomadas de quadragesima, secunda, quarta et sexta; inde postea usque pascha omni die ieiunandum, absque die dominico. Qui dominica ieiunat, peccat.

p. 154, ll. 7-9.

Omni sabbato et omni dominica vel diebus festis duodecim psalmos,

quos lectiones tres, una de prophetis, alia de apostolo, tertia ex evangelis; et post ipsas lectiones psalmi sex, antiphona una, hymnus et capitulum. Cunctis diebus festis ad duodecimam psalmi, qui ad tertium dicendi sunt, antiphonae tres iungantur; lectiones vero de re, hoc est, de ipsa festivitate dicantur.

chap. 60.

A kal. octob. usque ad pascha addite secundos nocturnos, id est psalmos XVIII, lectiones duas et hymnum. Ad primos nocturnos, in primo dicite: "Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam;"²²⁴ in fine "Rex aeternae domine." A secundo nocturno: "Magna et mirabilia." Alia nocte ad primum nocturnum dicendum est: "Mediae noctis tempus est:" ad secundum: "Aeternae rerum conditor." Ad secundos nocturnos in primis incipite: "Miserere mei Deus, miserere mei." Post nocturnos legantur orationes tres; psallantur antiphona, et responsus et alia antiphona. Post hoc usque ad lucem impleantur missae quatuor. Si fieri potest, numquam minuantur: numquam maturius, numquam tardius excitentur. Post hoc matutinales canonici dicantur: privatis diebus cum antiphonis, festis vero diebus cum alleluia psallantur. Omni dominica sex missae fiant, postea matutinae fiant. In primis dicite directaneum parvulum: "Confitemini" cum antiphona, "Cantemus Domino" et omnes matutinarum cum alleluia dicantur. Sabbato enim et omnibus diebus festis vigiliae celebrantur. In sollempnitatibus vero

tres antephanas, tres lectiones; una de prophetis, alia de apostolo, et tertia de evangelia dicatur.

p. 153, ll. 4-16.

Vigilias a mense octubre usque ad pascha duos nocturnos faciant, et tres missas. Ad una missa legat frater folia tria et orate; legat alia tria, et orate; legat alia tria, et levat se. Dicite antephona, responsurum, et alia antephona; antephonas ipsas de ordine psalterii. Post hoc dicant matutinos, directaneum "Exaltabo te," "Deus meus et rex meus." Deinde in ordine totus matutinarum in antephanas dicatur.

Omni dominica sex missas facite. Prima missa semper resurrectione legatur; dum resurrectio legitur, nullus sedet. Perfectas missas dicite matutinos, directaneum "Exaltabo te," Deus meus et rex meus," deinde "Confitemini," inde "Cantemus domino," "Lauda anima mea dominum," benedictionem, "Laudate dominum de caelis," "Te deum laudamus," "Gloria in excelsis deo," et capitellum. Omni dominica sic dicatur.

²²⁴ The psalms, hymns, etc. of the Office are identified in the Translation.

ipsis, impletis matutinis, et hymnum dicant "Te Deum laudamus." In exteriore oratorio procedendum est, et dicendum est directaneus parvulus; post hoc canticum "Cantemus Domino," deinde benedictio trium puerorum; post benedictionem hymnus "Gloria in excelsis Deo." . . . Omnibus vero diebus dominicis ad vigilias evangelia legantur: sed semper in prima missa una resurrectio legatur; altera dominica altera resurrectio, sic et tertia, sique quarta. Et dum illa prima missa in resurrectione legitur, et semper in prima missa una resurrectio legitur, nemo sedere praesumat; postea vero in illis quinque missis, quae sequuntur, omnes secundum consuetudinem sedent.

chap. 71.

. . . Ciborum omnibus diebus in ieiunio tria, in prandio bina tantummodo praeparantur. . . . Cotidianis vero diebus ad prandium in aestate bina caldellos, in hieme ad prandium bina caldellos; ad refectonem ternos caldellos accipiant, ad cenam vero bini caldelli sufficiunt. . . .

chap. 71 (cont.).

. . . Pulli vero infirmis tantummodo praebantur: nam in congregatione numquam ministrentur. Carnes vero a nulla unquam penitus in cibis sumantur; si forte aliqua in desperata infirmitate fuerit, iubente et providente abbatissa accipiat.

p. 153, ll. 25-26; p. 154, l. 1.

Missas vero in ieiunio tres, in prandio vero et in cena duo tantum praeparantur; in prandio bina biberes et in cena accipiant, in ieiunio ternas.

p. 154, ll. 5-8.

Pulli et carnes nunquam sani accipiant, infirmis quicquid necesse fuerit ministretur.

Possible Influence on the *Rule of St. Benedict* and the
Regula Tarnatensis

Not even as a source for the *Rule of St. Benedict* might the *Rule for Nuns* be thought to have entered into the mainstream of monastic history in the West, for it was in no way a principal source for St. Benedict.⁶ Butler cited ten brief parallel passages between the two rules of Caesarius (for monks and for nuns) and that of St. Benedict.⁷ Dom Vandenbroucke, who has recently surveyed literary parallels between many early monastic texts and that of Benedict, would add about twenty more parallels to Butler's ten for Caesarius,⁸ but even these do not permit one to say that his *Rule for Nuns* or *Rule for Monks* lived on through the Benedictine Rule. Vandenbroucke is one of several scholars who still hold the traditional view that Benedict wrote before the anonymous and now celebrated "Master," and who explain the enigmas in the relation of the two rules by supposing that Benedict composed a first edition of his rule from which the Master borrowed, and a "final edition," which is the Benedictine Rule as it is known today.⁹ His conclusions regarding Caesarius' rules as sources for both Benedict and the Master are presented here briefly as follows: Vandenbroucke considers the portion of the Benedictine rule which is common with the *Regula Magistri* to represent the "first edition" of St. Benedict. He finds several indications of dependence of both rules on Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*, but no certain indication of dependence on the *Rule for Nuns*. On the other hand, in those portions of the Benedictine Rule not common with the Master, Vandenbroucke believes that he can trace dependence on the *Rule for Nuns*. His conclusion is that for his "first edition" Benedict borrowed from the earlier of the rules of Caesarius—the Monks' Rule; and that for the final edition (ca. 530) he added excerpts from the *Rule for Nuns*.¹⁰

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 14, 27-28, 304.

⁷ C. Butler, O. S. B., ed., *Sancti Benedicti Regula monasteriorum*, pp. 189, 190-91.

⁸ F. Vandenbroucke, O. S. B., "Sur les sources de la règle bénédictine et de la *Regula Magistri*," *Rén. bén.*, LXII (1952), 217-25, 230-31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-73.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF THE RULE

Limited Nature of Its Influence

Despite its forward-looking innovations in the sphere of monasticism for women, and its transmission of the great monastic traditions of the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Rule for Nuns* had little direct influence beyond Merovingian Gaul. Though a number of monasteries of this period included excerpts from it in their rules or even adopted it as a whole, they failed to secure for it an enduring influence on the mainstream of monastic history such as that exerted by the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Dom Lambot attributes the limited diffusion of the *Rule for Nuns* to its lack of unity and order, and to its "local character"—that is, its particular accommodation to the needs of the community of St. John's convent.¹ After the seventh century only one definite record of its usage is found, that is, in a tenth-century convent of Regensburg.² Lambot thinks that Caesarius' Rule was superseded by the Benedictine Rule in Carolingian times, even in the convent of St. John itself.³ Another factor in circumscribing the diffusion of the *Rule for Nuns* besides its own defects was the Carolingian monastic reform of the eighth and early ninth centuries in which an attempt was made to impose the Benedictine Rule on all monasteries throughout the realm.⁴ Although Dom Schmitz has shown from the scanty records available, that this movement toward uniformity was probably less strictly enforced on monasteries of nuns than of monks,⁵ it must certainly have helped to curtail the use of the Rule of Caesarius.

¹ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 274.

² Morin, "Problèmes," *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ Lambot, "Le prototype," p. 174.

⁴ Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 86-95.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 40-60.

The third problem Vandembroucke has to consider is the relation of Caesarius' rules to those portions of the *Regula Magistri* not common with Benedict. He sees little indication of dependence of the Master on the rules of Caesarius except the use by the *Regula Magistri* and the *Rule for Nuns* of a text from the apocryphal *Visio Pauli*.¹¹ In the last analysis, one would say of Vandembroucke's studies relative to the *Rule for Nuns* what was said regarding those of Vanderhoven, Masui and Corbett: that they do not show so great a relationship between the Rule of Caesarius and the *Regula Magistri* that new conclusions on the latter will affect substantially present knowledge of the *Rule for Nuns*.

Another problematic rule, showing very definite textual parallels with the *Rule for Nuns* indicating dependence,—many more than the *Regula Magistri*—is the so-called *Regula Tarnatensis*.¹² It has thus far defied the efforts of scholars to date, localize, or assign an author to it. Although it has sometimes been identified as the rule of the Abbey of St. Maurice of Agaune founded in 515,¹³ Canon Theurillat has recently shown in a study of the early history of St. Maurice, that this identification is false. One of his major reasons for rejecting it is that the rule makes no reference to the perpetual chant known to have been a distinctive feature of the Agaune monastery. Having reviewed the major studies relating to the origin of the rule, Theurillat concludes that there is still no definite evidence by which to identify it, noting only that Morin felt it showed the influence of, and therefore came after, both Caesarius and St. Benedict; and that Besson thought "Tarnatensis" might possibly refer to Ternay in Isère.¹⁴

What is most definite about this rule is its likeness to the *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius. This is seen in its over-all structure, for its first section, much like that of the *Rule for Nuns*, is largely composed of a series of disciplinary regulations in the tradition of the Fathers of the desert, while its last part is a series of excerpts

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-56. See pp. 97-98, n. 49, *supra* for studies on the *Visio Pauli*.

¹² PL, LXVI (Paris, 1865), 977-80.

¹³ E.g., Arbesmann, Himpfner, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

¹⁴ J. M. Theurillat, *L'Abbaye de saint-Maurice d'Agaune. Des origines à la réforme canoniale.* (515-830). Extrait de *Vallesia*. Sion, 1954.

from the *Rule of St. Augustine*.¹⁵ Its first part does not have too many verbal parallels with the *Rule for Nuns*, perhaps because it depends in some parts on the *Rule of Pachomius*, while Caesarius depends on Cassian,¹⁶ but there are many parallels in subject matter and even, in a few instances, in the order of the text. The *Regula Tarnatensis* uses more extended excerpts from the *Rule of St. Augustine* than does Caesarius' Rule and it does not always use the same; but it does borrow from the *Regula secunda* and the *Regula Augustini* combined to form one rule, in the same way as the *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius.¹⁷

Although scholars have cited evidence of links between the *Regula Tarnatensis* and the *Rule for Monks* of Isidore of Seville,¹⁸ they have not noted any definite evidence of a direct influence of the *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius on Isidore's rule¹⁹ or on the other monastic writings of Visigothic Spain—the *De institutione virginum* of Leander and the rules of Fructuosus.²⁰ There is, of course, similarity of content between the Visigothic monastic writings and the Rule of Caesarius, but this probably can be traced to the common sources of both—Augustine especially, and Cassian, the latter coming to the Visigoths perhaps through the *Rule of St. Benedict*.²¹

¹⁵ The likenesses are readily apparent to anyone who compares the two rules. Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 261, has noted the likenesses.

¹⁶ H. Bacht, "L'importance de l'idéal monastique chez saint Pacôme pour l'histoire du monachisme chrétien," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, no. 104 (1950), 312.

¹⁷ *Regula Tarnatensis*, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv, col. 983; Lambot, "La Règle de S. Augustin et de S. Césaire," *op. cit.*, p. 340; Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, II, 124.

¹⁸ E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (vol. III of Sacris Erudiri, Bruges, 1951), no. 314. They cite A. E. Anspach's study, "Das Fortleben Isidors im VII. bis IX. Jahrhundert," *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936), pp. 323-56. W. S. Porter, "Early Spanish Monasticism. II, Isidor of Seville and His Rule," *Laudate*, X (June, 1932), 75.

¹⁹ Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-70.

²⁰ Porter, "Early Spanish Monasticism. I," *Laudate*, X (March, 1932), 2-15; and "Early Spanish Monasticism. III, Fructuosus of Braga," *Laudate*, X (Sept., 1932), 156-67. J. F. Hinnebusch, "The De Institutione Virginitatis et Contemptu Mundi of St. Leander of Seville. A Translation with a Critical Introduction." Unpublished master's dissertation, Department of History, Catholic University of America (Washington, 1955), pp. 39-42.

²¹ Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, O. P., *The Spiritual Life According to*

Influence on Merovingian Rules and Monasteries

It is in the monasteries of the sixth and seventh centuries in Gaul that scholars have traced a strong influence of the *Rule for Nuns*. Carlo de Clercq has provided a detailed study of its influence on the rules of Aurelian, bishop of Arles (546-ca. 555), Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès (+ 581), and Donatus, bishop of Besançon (ca. 627-658), giving tables illustrating chapter by chapter the dependence of Aurelian and Donatus on Caesarius.²² Aurelian wrote two very similar rules, one for monks and one for nuns, for the two monasteries which King Childbert I founded at Arles ca. 548.²³ Both rules depend very closely on Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*, with several passages added from the *Rule for Nuns*.²⁴ The monks' rule of Ferreolus of Uzès seems to borrow from both Caesarius and Aurelian, but only in scattered passages, such as the rules for the novice master (chap. 17, and for daily reading until Terce, chap. 26).²⁵ De Clercq notes that Donatus of Besançon provided his own apt description of his rule for nuns in its prologue, where he characterized it as a "florilegium" of the rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columban.²⁶ Donatus had come from Luxeuil where, by the beginning of the seventh century, a combination of the rules of Columban and Benedict was used; he told the nuns that he had added the Rule of Caesarius to their rule because of its adaptation to women.²⁷ De Clercq notes a very obvious dependence of a certain *Regula incerti auctoris* on Caesarius and also the equally obvious dependence of the *Regula Tarnatensis* discussed above, but can add no new information on the identity of these rules.²⁸

St. Isidore of Seville. Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature (Washington, 1940), XIII, 71-74.

²² C. de Clercq, *La législation religieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne* (Paris, 1936), pp. 78-88.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80. de Clercq supplies a table illustrating the similarity of Aurelian's two rules on p. 83, n. 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80; n. 1 gives chart showing dependence.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85. Ferreoli *Regula ad monachos*, PL, LVI (Paris, 1806), chap. 17, col. 965; chap. 26, cols. 968-69.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86. Donati *Regula ad virgines*. PL, LXXXVII (Paris, 1851), 273.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79, n. 1.

Perhaps the best known use of the *Rule for Nuns* in Merovingian times was its introduction as a whole, and not merely as a part of a new rule, into the monastery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers by the celebrated Queen-Foundress, Radegund. The detailed and sometimes dramatic accounts of her life at Holy Cross written by her contemporaries afford an excellent opportunity to study the influence of Caesarius' Rule in practice.²⁹ The points noted here accord with the thorough treatment of this topic given by Aigrain in his biography of Radegund.³⁰

Aigrain notes that the sources indicate clearly what it was that led Radegund and Agnes, the abbess whom she had appointed, to seek to adopt Caesarius' Rule. They saw in it an answer to pressing problems created by the consistently inimical attitude of their bishop Maroveus of Poitiers. They sought the Rule as a substitute for the spiritual direction usually given at these times by a bishop to a monastery, especially a monastery of women, and of which Holy Cross was deprived by the hostility of Maroveus.³¹ The Foundress also hoped to gain with the Rule, the privilege of exemption from episcopal authority which Caesarius had obtained for his convent under the government of its Rule. Radegund never succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Maroveus, nor of her metropolitan, Bertrand of Bordeaux, to the extension of the privilege of exemption to her monastery; but she did obtain from a Council of Bishops at Tours, many of whom had members of their flocks in her monastery, a recognition of the binding force of their Rule over them and especially of its cloister laws.³² During Radegund's own lifetime her personal influence and the royal protection for which she could hope were sufficient to uphold the independence

²⁹ Baudoniviae *Vitae sanctae Radegundis liber I*; Venantii Fortunati *Vitae sanctae Radegundis liber II*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS. rer. merov. II (Hannover, 1888), 358-94; Fortunati *Opera poetica*, ed. F. Leo, MGH, Auc. ant., IV, pars i (Berlin, 1881) *Carminum libri viii*, xi. Gregorii Turo-nensis *Historia Francorum*, ed. W. Arndt, MGH, SS. rer. merov. I, pars i (Hannover, 1885), ix.

³⁰ R. Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde*, Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée (Poitiers, 1952), pp. 129-68.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-33.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 138-39, 158-69.

of Holy Cross, but after her death troubles within the monastery necessitated its being placed under the authority of the bishop.³³

It will be remembered that the privilege of exemption was, for Caesarius, but a partial means to a much greater end—the fostering of a strictly cloistered life of abnegation and prayer whereby his nuns might be led to the highest perfection. To what extent were Radegund and her nuns influenced by this ideal and the concrete means Caesarius devised for its realization? Details from the history of Holy Cross Monastery will help to supply an answer to this question.

The nuns observed with great fidelity, apparently, the command never to leave the monastery. The nun Basina, supported by Radegund, refused to leave Holy Cross even though ordered to do so by her father King Chilperic.³⁴ The whole community refrained from following the funeral procession of their greatly-mourned foundress to her place of burial, even though their feelings impelled them to this last demonstration of affection.³⁵ But the concept of the cloister and visiting with externs within the monastery walls, seems to have been less strict under Radegund and Agnes than the provisions of the *Rule for Nuns*. The Rule definitely forbade the nuns to serve meals for visitors and encouraged restraint in the time given to visiting in the parlor—“. . . holy virgins dedicated to God ought rather to pray for all people, leaving all for Christ, than to provide feasts for the body.”³⁶ Radegund and Agnes frequently entertained the priest and poet Fortunatus, and, on his own testimony, served him delicious meals.³⁷ The Rule seems to have cast no shadow over the warm friendship of these three, for Fortunatus, in praising the monastic endeavors of the two nuns, paid tribute to the “sweetness” of Caesarius’ Rule;³⁸ but certainly one cannot say that its cloister laws were adopted unreservedly at Holy Cross.³⁹

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145. Gregory of Tours, *op. cit.*, bk. ix, pp. 392-93, records this incident.

³⁵ Aigrain, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

³⁶ *Reg. virg.*, 40.

³⁷ Fortunatus, *op. cit.*, *Carmines*, xi, 16, 22, 23. Aigrain, *op. cit.*, 147-48.

³⁸ Fortunatus, *op. cit.*, *Carmina*, viii, 1, 60.

³⁹ Aigrain, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

In other matters Caesarius’ notions of renunciation seem to have been followed more closely. Aigrain has noted that there was a strict observance of poverty. Radegund performed the most menial of tasks and took her turn at all domestic chores. She had a private cell when this was expressly forbidden by the Rule, but Aigrain points out that this may have been because of her position of foundress.⁴⁰ All that is recorded of her austerity in fasting, of her assiduity in spiritual reading, and of the regular celebration of Divine Office, points to a strong influence of the Rule of Caesarius at Radegund’s monastery.⁴¹ This is Aigrain’s view, who would find “only a difference in degree between the two observances.”⁴² If Malnory was a bit more reserved in saying that the Rule was practiced at Holy Cross “with a fervor which did not exclude certain accommodations little conformed to the spirit of the founder,”⁴³ it is still true to say that this monastery and its community represent perhaps the most important area of influence of Caesarius’ Rule outside the walls of his own convent.

Scholars have traced the influence of the Rule only to three other convents beyond those mentioned. Bishop Syagrius of Autun seems to have learned of it from his friendship with Holy Cross at Poitiers, and was thus influenced to found the strictly cloistered convent of St. Mary in his city. The cloistered convent at Chamalières in Auvergne was influenced by that of Donatus of Besançon who, as has been noted, borrowed from the Rule of Caesarius.⁴⁴ The only use which can be found of the Rule beyond its brief but brilliant flowering in Merovingian times, was in the tenth-century convent of the abbess Uta in Regensburg. The fact of its use here is only known from the substantial portion of a manuscript of the Rule which has been preserved and which Morin studied in making his critical edition of the *Rule for Nuns*. He was led to wonder what accounted for the thin trickle of influence of Caesarius’ Rule in the predominantly “Benedictine centuries,” and presented an interesting conjecture that the Rule of the sixth-century Gallic Saint reached tenth-century Regensburg via the two bishops Emmeran and Erhard who went as missionaries from Poitiers to Germany.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴³ Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

⁴⁴ Lambot, “Le prototype,” pp. 173-74.

⁴⁵ Morin, “Problèmes,” p. 10.

Augustine; these are introduced and concluded by Caesarius' own passages original to the *Rule for Nuns*; they are tied together throughout by his typical expressions and turns of thought. The "Rule proper" is followed by a Recapitulation—chiefly of the teachings original to Caesarius—and by directions for Divine Office and for fasting. The present writer has been able to give further evidence of this underlying organization in the Rule by tracing its likeness in style and structure to Caesarius' sermons; many of which consist largely of collections of excerpts from the Fathers bound together by the Saint's own characteristic introductions, recapitulations and conclusions, and occasional comments throughout. The style of Caesarius' Rule is seen to be like that of the sermons in the vigor, simplicity and directness with which spiritual instruction and admonition are given. The likenesses in the typical expressions and turns of thought in both Rule and sermons have been used also to demonstrate in detail, according to Morin's method of internal criticism, the solid foundations he had for affirming the authenticity of his edition of the Rule.

An attempt has been made in this present study to fill the need for a comprehensive and detailed survey of Caesarius' sources for the Rule. Lambot's studies on the *Rule of St. Augustine* and those of Olphe-Galliard on Cassian have been utilized to the full. The nature and importance of the works from which Caesarius drew have been discussed, and also the extent to which he drew upon the central doctrines in the monastic teachings of these two Fathers. His aptitude for extracting the core, especially of Augustine's teachings, and for harmonizing these with his own ideas and with those of Lerins, has been discussed.

The influence of the Lerins tradition on Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns* has been traced first through its dependence on his own *Rule for Monks*. Evidence has been presented to show the probability that there was a "Rule of Lerins," and that Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* is a more or less direct representation of it, with some of his own additions or changes. A survey of recent studies on the homelies of the so-called "Gallican Eusebius" has shown that they have been almost universally recognized as coming from the Lerins tradition; they reveal a kinship in thought with the monastic rules of

CONCLUSION

One who seeks to trace the origin and development of monasticism for women finds the *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius of Arles a basic source for study. Yet because of the relatively short and remote period—the Merovingian era—to which its use was limited, and because of its defects of form and style, its value is somewhat hidden from the modern reader. In view of these difficulties, a full introduction has been provided to accompany this first English translation of the Rule. This introduction includes a synthesis of previous studies on or related to the Rule; it also presents the findings of the present writer in her efforts to secure an accurate translation, to trace the sources of the Rule, and to reconstruct the phase of monastic history which it helped to shape. The wealth of source materials available on the circumstances in which the Rule was composed and practised, on the thought and achievements of its author, and on the influence of his monastic endeavors in his own era, have been utilized to give as complete an analysis as possible of the Rule.

The problem of the unevenness of style and want of formal organization, deplored by scholars who have studied the Rule, has been thoroughly investigated in this study. Its sudden changes of style and thought have been explained by showing that many passages have been borrowed directly from previous monastic writings and inserted rather abruptly into its text. In the translation these passages have been identified by headings indicating the sources from which they were taken. In the chapter analyzing the sources, the Latin text of Caesarius' passages have been shown beside the Latin text of the sources from which he borrowed, and a table has been given tracing the complete pattern of these borrowings. This over-all pattern indicates clearly that the Rule does have a sort of loose organization according to its sources: its first part—the "Rule proper"—consists of two units of excerpts, the first from writings in the tradition of Lerins, and the second from the *Rule of St.*

Caesarius, especially in the basic orientation of their teachings toward life's goals of judgment and heaven. New evidence for the content of the Lerins tradition has been presented from the studies of Vanderhoven, Masai, and Corbett, who believe that the enigmatic *Regula Magistri* was known at Lerins at the end of the fifth century. On the basis of Masai's studies, the *Regula Macarii* has been rejected as a source for Caesarius, although Arnold had traced possible parallels in the *Rule for Nuns*. Since Cassian was certainly a part of the Lerins tradition, Caesarius' dependence on him has been traced beyond the few passages noted by previous scholars which show verbal parallels, to possible dependences in thought. It has been suggested that the first section of Caesarius' Rule—chapters 2-16—contains the same sort of external disciplinary regulations that make up the much lengthier Books I-IV of the *Institutes*. Caesarius' ideal of the strictly cloistered contemplative life has been presented as a possible borrowing from Cassian, and has been discussed in the light of the most recent studies on Cassian. Investigation has shown that the only extant *Regula Cassiani* was the work of an eighth-century compiler and thus could not have influenced Caesarius. Taken as a whole, studies on the Lerins tradition as a source for Caesarius show that his Rules summarize basic elements in this tradition; these studies also emphasize the need for further investigation of the way in which the teachings of Cassian and the *Vitae Patrum* were handed down throughout the fifth century. Future studies to identify the authentic sermons of Faustus of Riez, and on the formulation of *exempla* in monastic tradition from the fourth to the sixth century, may throw further light on the sources of Caesarius' Rules.

The problem of tracing the dependence of the *Rule for Nuns* on the *Rule of St. Augustine* has involved a preliminary discussion of the more basic question of the form in which Augustine originally wrote his rule—for nuns in the form of a letter, or for monks, without the introductory sections of the letter, but with a shorter monastic code introducing it. Both these forms are extant today and both are ascribed to Augustine. In the absence of absolutely "clenching" evidence to solve this problem, a résumé has been given here of the more significant arguments in the opposing theories of

scholars during the last thirty years. Those of Lambot, supporting the view that Augustine's "rule" was a letter, seem by far the most judicious, and they have been accepted here as the most plausible. A further point of evidence along Lambot's line of thought has been given by the present writer. It is significant also that the theories of Mandonnet, which are diametrically opposed to those of Lambot and have been followed for some years by a considerable group of scholars, have been rejected recently in favor of Lambot's theories by Father Vicaire who originally worked with Mandonnet on the presentation of his arguments. However, acceptance of the theory that Augustine wrote his "rule" as a letter to nuns does not solve all the problems relative to it as a source for the *Rule for Nuns* of Caesarius. Lambot has presented clear evidence,—to which, again, it was possible to add in this study—that Caesarius borrowed from the masculine form of Augustine's rule as it appears in its earliest extant manuscript. It would be helpful to know if Caesarius, who professed to be writing a rule specifically adapted to nuns, knew of Augustine's rule as one addressed originally to nuns, and used it extensively for that reason. Unfortunately, no evidence exists to answer this question, and one must be content with tracing the extent to which Caesarius borrowed from Augustine.

Added emphasis has been placed in this study on the richness and depth which Augustine's monastic teachings gave to those of Caesarius. From the great doctor of the Church, the *Rule for Nuns* gained the doctrine of the positive fruitfulness of the common life—the rich fountainhead of the "cor unum et anima una" whence flow the practice of the virtues of poverty, humility, and obedience. From Augustine, too, Caesarius gave to his Rule, as to all his spiritual teachings, that expressed reliance on grace which was part of Augustine's great heritage to the Church. What has not been remarked by scholars, perhaps because Caesarius did not give it sufficient literary emphasis, is the extent to which he incorporated in his Rule, Augustine's ideal of the consecrated virgin. He reflects the common tradition of all the Fathers in portraying her as the faithful virgin of the Gospel parable who with lamp burning waits for her Lord. This concept has been traced here

not only in the Rule, but also in Caesarius' letters and his sermons, and in the picture his biographers give of his nuns.

The letters and sermons of Caesarius, and his biography, have been most useful to enrich the analyses already given by scholars of the contents of the Rule. They enable one to view the teaching of Caesarius regarding the exalted nature of the religious state, within the context of the whole of his spiritual teachings. From his sermons one sees that he had an even more exalted appreciation of the doctrine of the Mystical Body and its marvelous diversity of functions. His "better humble marriage than proud virginity" is an echo of Augustine, and proves the soundness of his doctrine. The Rule serves to emphasize more strongly than any other single document of Caesarius the basic orientation of his spirituality which is illustrated throughout his sermons—his singledminded, practical conviction that life was a direct preparation for heaven. This conviction is the explanation of the logic and completeness of his new plan of life for the consecrated virgin who had formerly lived in the world. Under his Rule she would live a completely cloistered contemplative life, in order to be in every sense, the faithful virgin awaiting her Lord.

The whole pattern of the cloistered cenobitic life which Caesarius provided for in every detail has been presented here as the most striking fulfillment of his purpose to compose a rule adapted to the needs of women religious. Malnory, Lambot, and de Plinval have already touched upon the basic features of the Rule analyzed in this study; they are given re-emphasis here in terms of their timeliness, and their aptness in setting down that way of life by which the consecrated virgin might most surely pursue her way to heaven. Caesarius' very use of the figure of the faithful virgin is seen as an effort to convey his teachings in a manner which appealed to women religious. One should note especially in Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns* its emphasis on its own binding force and its sacredness as a pattern of life—ideas which now have long been traditional in religious life, but which Caesarius was one of the first to enunciate. Lambot has shown that Caesarius' cloister laws and the privilege of monastic exemption he secured for his nuns were in advance of legislation in canon law on these matters; so too, it would seem,

was his regulation forbidding the nuns to be baptismal sponsors. The letters of Caesarius have been used to show that his nuns made a vow of chastity, though this is not mentioned in the Rule. Note has been made of the opinions of Séjourné and Olphe-Galliard that, in accepting their rules on stability and poverty, Caesarius' nuns came close to making these two vows. The importance of the life of prayer in Caesarius' plan, especially of the celebration of Divine Office, has been discussed at length. A careful analysis has been made of the liturgical seasons, of the *cursus* of the liturgical Hours, and of the contents of each of the Hours, in the detailed but not always clear directions for Divine Office. Headings have been added in the translation to show their organization under these three points, and to trace the pattern of thought underlying them. An attempt has been made, especially through the use of current liturgical studies, to point out the more significant features of Caesarius' *Ordo* and to clarify the meaning of obscure terminology.

A consistent effort has been made to trace the details of place, manners, and customs in which the Rule was practiced, in order to translate accurately unfamiliar terms or references in the Rule. In the case of the location of the convent, and of the church which is mentioned in the Rule as adjoining it, this effort has involved a careful investigation of varying theories. Those of Jean Hubert, which Monsignor Beck also follows, seem to be the most plausible. They indicate that Caesarius' convent was built from the first within the south-east corner of the city walls of Arles adjoining the Cathedral of St. Stephen, and that some years later Caesarius built beside this convent, in close proximity to the Cathedral, the Basilica of St. Mary, to serve as the burial place of the nuns.

Little has been added here to the findings of previous scholars on the direct influence of the *Rule for Nuns*. It was much esteemed and used in Merovingian Gaul, and then apparently set aside when the Carolingian monastic reformers promoted a general use of the Benedictine rule in all monasteries. Current studies which support the view that the *Regula Magistri* was written after Caesarius' Rule have been cited for what they can show of a possible influence of Caesarius on this controversial rule. The possibility of a rather strong influence of the *Rule for Nuns* on the anonymous *Regula*

Tarnatensis has been shown. Direct borrowings have not been found in the Visigothic rules. The abundant source material available on St. Radegund and her monastery of Holy Cross in Poitiers has been used to make a detailed study of the influence of the Rule as it was practiced in other Merovingian monasteries beyond the one for which Caesarius wrote it. The nuns of Holy Cross seem to have been fairly faithful to it, although Radegund was freer in entertaining visitors than Caesarius would have wished.

Lambot has conjectured that the disorganized character of the *Rule for Nuns*, and its adaptation to the local conditions of Caesarius' own convent did much to circumscribe its influence. Undoubtedly the Carolingian monastic reform curtailed its use. A final suggestion is given here as to why, with all its excellent features, Caesarius' Rule had so little direct influence on the mainstream of monastic history. The absolute cloister which it set up, and the privilege of monastic exemption which Caesarius secured for his own monastery and which others using his Rule endeavored to secure, may have created an isolation for the monasteries under his influence which eventually weakened them spiritually and economically. The privilege of monastic exemption may have incurred the displeasure of bishops whose spiritual and financial support was a necessity for any monastery of the early Middle Ages. Caesarius lived centuries before great centralized religious congregations or papal machinery of organization existed to replace the direction which a bishop gave to individual religious establishments. The legislation in the recent Apostolic Constitution *Sponsa Christi* has reminded us forcibly of the problems of support and survival which frequently confront institutions of contemplative nuns even in the twentieth century when isolation is far less than it was in the sixth.

The appearance of *Sponsa Christi* reaffirms the timeliness of a detailed study of Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns*, for through it one can trace the remote beginnings of the cloistered contemplative life for women which Pius XII endeavored to reinvigorate in our own times through his Apostolic Constitution. The late Holy Father included in *Sponsa Christi* an historical survey of the development of this form of life within the Church. One who has studied Caesarius' monastic endeavors has seen in them all the important

features noted by Pius XII in summing up the period of formal organization of the life of the cloistered contemplative nun at the beginning of the Middle Ages:

The Church recommended to virgins in general the common life understood in a rather wide sense, but for a long time did not wish*strictly to impose the monastic life even on consecrated virgins. . . . It came about, however, that virgins liturgically consecrated and living in their own homes or in a common life of a freer sort became more and more rare until they were in many places no longer recognized in the law of the Church.

Consequently the Church turned her maternal solicitude chiefly upon those virgins who, choosing the better part, abandoned the world entirely and embraced a life of complete Christian perfection in monasteries, professing strict poverty and full obedience as well as virginity. The Church provided an external safeguard for their profession of the common life by increasingly rigorous laws of cloister. At the same time she so regulated the internal order of their life that in her laws and religious discipline there gradually emerged as a clearly defined type the figure of the monastic sister or nun entirely devoted to contemplative life under a strict and regular regime.

About the beginning of the Middle Ages these monastic nuns, who had grown tremendously in number, in fervor, in variety, were regarded as the sole heirs and legitimate successors of the virgins of earlier times; yet not only as their heirs and successors, but also as the faithful representatives and industrious managers of the continuing heritage, who, after having received five talents had gained other five over and above.¹

¹ *Sponsa Christi* (trans.), pp. 14-15.

2. And, because many things in monasteries of women seem to differ from the customs of monks, we have chosen a few things from among many, according to which the elder religious can live under rule with the younger, and strive to carry out spiritually what they see to be especially adapted for their sex.

[Lerins Tradition: Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*]

These things first befit your holy souls: If a girl, leaving her parents, desire to renounce the world and enter the holy fold to escape the jaws of the spiritual wolves by the help of God, she must never, up to the time of her death, go out of the monastery, nor into the basilica, where there is a door.^a

3. They shall strive to shun and avoid swearing and cursing as the poison of the devil.

[Lerins Tradition: Cassian]

4. She, therefore, who, by the inspiration of God undertakes religious life shall not be allowed immediately to assume the religious garb, until beforehand her will has been proved by many trials; but let her, in charge of one of the elder sisters, remain for a whole year in the garb in which she came. Moreover, concerning the matter of changing of garb, and of having a bed in the community dormitory,⁴ she shall be in the charge of this sister; and as the latter sees her character and her compunction, let her accordingly endeavor to mold her either rapidly or slowly.

^a See pp. 21-25 *supra* for the problem of this text and others related to the basilica. As chap. 59 of the Rule suggests that the nuns did go into the basilica, an alternative translation for this passage would read ". . . never, up to the time of her death, go out of the monastery, nor [when] in the basilica, where there is seen to be a door."

C. de Clercq (*op. cit.*, p. 83), notes that the *Regula ad Virgines* of Bishop Aurelian of Arles, made up of excerpts from Caesarius' Rules for monks and nuns, contains one original regulation—chap. 38: the nuns are to recite Office in the basilica of Our Lady adjoining their monastery. In winter, Terce, Sext, and None are to be recited in the oratory in the cloister. The public were admitted to this basilica.

⁴ Caesarius' term here is *scola*. Morin suggests "*novitiatu*" (*Index verborum et locutionum*, *Opera* II, 390); he notes however that in Caesarius' *Regula monachorum*, *Opera* II, ll. 13-14, p. 150 (see p. 133 *supra*), *scola* can be taken as "*camera communi*." Lambot thinks that *scola*

THE RULE FOR NUNS OF ST. CAESARIUS OF ARLES

TRANSLATION

HERE BEGIN THE RULES FOR HOLY VIRGINS

[Caesarius]¹

Caesarius bishop, to our holy and highly venerated sisters in Christ, established in the monastery which by the inspiration and help of God we have founded.

Because the Lord in His mercy has deigned to inspire and aid us to found a monastery for you, we have set down spiritual and holy counsels for you as to how you shall live in the monastery according to the prescriptions of the ancient Fathers. That, with the help of God, you may be able to keep them, as you abide unceasingly in your monastery cell, implore by assiduous prayer the visitation of the Son of God, so that afterwards you can say with confidence: "We have found Him Whom our soul has sought." [Cant. 3:1, 4]² Hence I ask you, consecrated virgins and souls dedicated to God, who, with your lamps burning, await with secure consciences the coming of the Lord, that, as you know I have labored in the constructing of a monastery for you, you beg by your holy prayers to have me made a companion of your journey; so that when you happily enter the kingdom with the holy and wise virgins, you may, by your suffrages, obtain for me that I remain not outside with the foolish. As you in your holiness pray for me and shine forth among the most precious gems of the Church, may the divine favor both fill you with present good things and render you worthy of the eternal.

¹ Headings within brackets are to indicate whether the passages below them are original to this Rule [Caesarius]; or are taken from the [Lerins Tradition: Cassian or the *Rule for Monks* of Caesarius]; or from the [*Rule of St. Augustine*: *Reg. sec.* or *Reg. Aug.*].

² Morin notes "Cf. Cant. 3, 4 . . . I found him whom my soul loveth." Cant. 3: 1 reads ". . . I sought him whom my soul loveth." Caesarius would seem to have contracted the two sentences.

[Lerins Tradition: *Rule for Monks*]

5. Those who come to the monastery as widows, or those who have left their husbands, or those who have changed their garb, cannot be received, unless beforehand they deed over, or give, or sell, to whomsoever they wish, all their possessions, so that they reserve nothing in their own control which they govern or possess as private property, on account of the saying of the Lord: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast"; [Matt. 19:21] and "If any one does not renounce all things and follow me, he cannot be my disciple." [Lk. 14:26, 27, 33]. This therefore I say to you, venerable daughters, because nuns who have possessions cannot have perfection.⁵ As to this matter, if they will not fulfill it, even those who have adopted religious life as virgins shall not be received, and certainly shall not be allowed to take the religious habit, until they rid themselves of all impediments of this world.

designates a room for community use: ("Césaire," col. 209; and "Le prototype," p. 172). Blaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 724-43, gives: "schola (scola), -ae f. . . . [7th meaning]," dortoir: Con. Turon. an. 507, c. 15 (Merou. p. 126, 3)."

Caesarius uses the term again in chap. 73 of the *Reg. virg.* in speaking of the rooms where he has closed off doors. Benoit, "Le premier baptistère d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 47, speaks of the *scola* in *Reg. virg.* 73 as "l'école"; Lambert's meaning "a room for community use" seems more probable than Benoit's "school room."

⁵ One of Caesarius' letters to the nuns makes even more precise his teaching given here on poverty. In chap. 21 *infra* of the Rule, he implies that the nuns should deed over their property to the poor. In his letter he states emphatically that this should be their course of action:

There are some who even wish to give the greater part of their possessions to their parents and, by chance, to the rich, and they do not reflect that while they give their substance to them to live luxuriously, they destroy themselves by everlasting poverty. But someone says: "Therefore, should I despise my parents?" Be it far from us to say that you should not honor your parents; how could it be that we should preach that parents are not to be loved, who say that enemies must be loved? Love your parents as much as you can, and if they are good and honorable, always pay them honor, and leave them some gift from your possessions in memory of you. But give all, whatever is the greater and more useful part, to the poor, to be of profit at the end of the world; that your alms, by aiding the poor, may transport you to the kingdom of heaven on the day of judgment. (*Vereor, Opera* II, 141).

6. Those, who, since their parents are still alive, cannot have their patrimony in their power, or those who are still minors, must deed over their property when they obtain possession of the goods of their parents, or when they arrive at legal age. Therefore, we ordain this for your holy souls, in fear of the example of Ananias and Saphira,⁶ who, though they said they had offered all to the Apostles, gave part and perfidiously kept a part for themselves, which is neither becoming, permissible, nor proper.

[Caesarius]

7. No one, not even the abbess,⁷ may be permitted to have her own maid for her service; but if they have need, let them receive help from the younger religious. And, if possible, never, or at best with difficulty, let little girls be received into the monastery, unless they are six or seven years old, so that they are able to learn their letters and to submit to obedience. The daughters either of nobility or of common folk are never to be received so that they may be reared or taught.

[Lerins Tradition: *Rule for Monks and Cassian*]

8. No one shall choose to perform for herself any work or manual occupation for her own pleasure; but it shall rest in the judgment of an elder religious to command what she shall see to be useful.

⁶ Cassian seems to have been deeply impressed by the story of Ananias and Saphira and to have passed on to Caesarius his "fear of the example." Caesarius' *Sermo* LXXI (*Opera* I, part i) reflects even more fully the teachings of Cassian on the lesson of the fate of these two Scriptural characters. In *Conlationes* XVIII, 5, 7, and XXI, 30, Cassian discusses the fervor of the whole of the first Christian community of Jerusalem in their common possession of property, and laments the fact that now only a portion of the flock of Christ—the monks—practice total renunciation, while the remaining Christians follow the example of Ananias. Cassian classifies his false monks as new Ananises. In *Inst.* VII, Cassian recalls three times the fate and lesson of Ananias and Saphira.

⁷ The *Rule for Nuns* would seem to contain one of the earliest uses of the term "*abbatissa*." Schmitz (*op. cit.*, VII, 6) supplies the note that the earliest use recorded would seem to have been in a convent in Rome in the fourth century where the superior was referred to both as "*abbatissa*" and "*mater*," as in Caesarius' rule (see chaps. 18, 21, etc. *infra*). Schmitz records an epitaph of the "*Sacra Virgo Serenna abbatissa*" dating from 614.

9. No one may be permitted to choose a separate room, nor to have a cell or a chest, or anything of this nature, which can be locked for private use, but all shall occupy one room with separate beds. In the case of the aged and the sick, special arrangements are proper, but each shall not have an individual cell, and all shall be placed in one room, and shall remain there.

They should never speak in a loud voice, according to that saying of the Apostle: "Let . . . all clamor be removed from you"; [Eph. 4:31] because this is not at all becoming or proper.

10. Likewise, while the psalms are being chanted, it is not permissible to do any talking or to work.

11. No one should presume to sponsor in baptism a child of anyone at all, either rich or poor; ^a for she who for the love of God has disdained the freedom to have children of her own ought not wish for nor possess this freedom belonging to others, so that without any hindrance she may give her time unceasingly to God.

12. She who comes late, after the signal has been given, to Office or to work, will be subject to rebuke as is fitting. If, after a second or a third admonition, she does not correct the fault, she should be withdrawn from community life and from the common meal.

13. She who is admonished, chastised, corrected for any fault whatever shall not answer in any way to the one accusing; she who will not fulfill some point of the things which are commanded shall be withdrawn from the common prayer and from the common table according to the nature of the fault.

[Lerins Tradition: Cassian]

14. Let those who cook be given a measure of wine for each according to their labor.⁹ As in the kitchen, so in every ministra-

^a Rev. Rich. J. Kearney, *Sponsors at Baptism according to the Code of Canon Law*. (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1925), says that "it was not before the 6th c. that religious were forbidden to function as sponsors."—Council of Auxerre, 578. Caesarius seems to have laid down such a rule before it became part of general canon law.

⁹ The Latin text appears to be corrupt. It reads: "Quae coquent, singuli illis meri pro labore addantur."

tion to bodily needs, in whatever the daily need requires, they shall take turns with one another, except the mother and the prioress.

15. During Vigils, in order that no one may become drowsy through inactivity, those works shall be done which do not distract attention from listening to the reading. If anyone should become drowsy, she shall be ordered to stand while the others are seated, so that she can banish the heaviness of sleep lest she be found tepid or negligent in the recitation of Office.

[Caesarius]

16. Let them receive with humility their daily task to be done in the wool work, and let them strive to fulfill it with great industry.

[Rule of St. Augustine: Reg. sec.]

17. No one should appropriate anything to herself, either in the way of clothing or of any other thing whatever.

No one should do anything with murmuring, lest she perish by a judgment like that for murmurers, according to that saying of the Apostles: "Do all things without murmuring." [Philipp. 2:14].

18. All shall obey the mother after God; all should defer to the prioress.

They shall be silent while sitting at the table and they shall direct their attention to the reading. Moreover, when the reading has ceased, holy meditation of the heart shall not cease. If there be some need, she who presides at table shall be solicitous and shall seek what is necessary by nod rather than by speech.

[Reg. Aug.]

Not only should the mouth take nourishment for you, but also let the ears hear the word of God.

[Caesarius]

All shall learn to read.

[Reg. sec.]

19. At all times they shall give two hours, that is, from early morning until the second hour, to reading. For the remainder of

the day they shall do their work, and they should not busy themselves with idle talk according to that saying of the Apostle: "... that they work quietly . . ." [II Thess. 3:12]; and another saying: "In much speaking you do not fly sin" [Prov. 10, 19]. And therefore you must speak entirely of that which pertains to the edification and usefulness of the soul.

20. When, however the necessity of the work requires it, then they may speak. While the rest are working together, one of the sisters shall read until Terce; moreover let not meditation on the word of God and the prayer of the heart cease.

[*Reg. Aug.*]

Let there be "... one soul and one heart in the Lord," among you; let all things be held in common by you; for thus we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that: "... they had all things in common"; and "... distribution was made to each, according as anyone had need" [Acts 4:32].

21. Those who had something in the world shall, when they enter the monastery, humbly offer it to the mother to be of use for the common needs. However, those who had nothing ought not to seek in the monastery what they could not have outside. Those indeed who seemed to have something in the world should not look down upon their sisters who come in poverty to this holy fellowship; nor should they display the same pride over their riches which they have presented to the monastery as if they were enjoying them in the world. What does it profit to distribute all, and to become poor by giving to the poor if the wretched soul be inflated with diabolical pride? All therefore, pass your lives in unanimity and concord, and honor God in one another, Whose temples it has been given you to be.

Persist without ceasing in prayer, according to that saying of the Evangelist: "... praying at all times that you may be accounted worthy . . ." [Luke 21:36] and that of the Apostle: "Pray without ceasing" [I Thess. 5:17].

22. While indeed you are praying to God in psalms and hymns, let that be meditated upon in the heart which is uttered by the

voice. Whatever work you may be doing at a time when there is no reading, always ruminate on something from divine Scriptures.¹⁰

The sick must be treated in such a way that they may speedily convalesce; however, when they have recovered let them return to the happier custom of abstinence.

Your garb should not be such as to attract notice, nor should you try to please by your clothing but by your conduct, for that becomes the aim you have set before yourself.

23. Let no concupiscence of the eyes for any man whatever arise in you at the instigation of the devil; nor should you say that you have chaste spirits if you have unchaste eyes, for the unchaste eye is the forerunner of the unchaste heart. Nor ought she to think, who surreptitiously casts a glance upon a man, that she is not seen by others when she does this; she is seen especially by those by whom she does not think herself seen. But even should it be concealed so that it is seen by no man, what shall she do in regard to that Overseer, from Whom it cannot be hidden at all? Therefore, let her fear lest she displease God; let her reflect lest she be pleasing to man in an evil way. When you are together, if the provisor¹¹

¹⁰ In *Sermo* LXIX, *Opera* I, 281-82, Caesarius describes in some detail how animals "chew the cud" and how Christians should do this spiritually:

I exhort you, brethren, to listen to this with profit. Hold on to it, chew it over in your mind and feed upon it; let not what is just now entrusted to your memory depart from your mouth. . . . Ruminating applies to those who later think over what they have heard or remembered. Indeed, we eat and transmit the thought into our memory, as though into the stomach. What do cattle do when they chew their cud? What was thrown into the manger and is stored up in its stomach is brought back to the mouth and the cattle rests in its sweet taste . . . what is stored away does not benefit you unless its savor returns to your mouth.

Caesarius' use of "*ruminare*" is like that of Cassian in *Conlationes* XI, 15; and XIV, 13; and Augustine in *Sermo* CCXXVIII, 2; and *Contra Faustum* VI, 7; and Gallican Eusebius in *Homilia ad monachos* II (PL, L, 835). The two usages of "*ruminare*" in Scripture are Cant. 7:9, and Osee 7:14.

¹¹ Chap. 36, and note, contain a fuller explanation of the purveyor and his duties. Alexander Souter, in *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford: 1949), gives "caterer, purveyor (for a nunnery)," for *provisor* and cites *Reg. virg.* for use of the term.

of the monastery, or anyone of the men with him should come up unexpectedly, keep a mutual guard over your modesty; for God Who dwells in you guards you in this way.

24. If you should see a sister behave in a more unrestrained manner than is proper, rebuke privately as a sister; if she should refuse to listen, bring it to the attention of the mother. Nor should you consider yourselves malevolent when you reveal this in a holy spirit; for rather you are not guiltless, and you make yourselves sharers in her sin, if by remaining silent you permit your sister to perish whom you could have corrected by reproving. For if she had a wound on her body, or if she had been bitten by a serpent, and she wished to hide this because she feared to be cut, would it not be cruel to remain silent, and merciful to reveal it? How much more therefore ought you to expose the plans of the devil and the wiles of that infamous one, lest the wound of sin be deepened in the heart, lest the evil of concupiscence be nourished for a long time in the breast. Do this, then, from love of your sister and hatred of vice.

25. Any sister, who has so far advanced in wrong-doing (may God not allow it!) that she should receive secretly from anyone letters or any kind of messages or gifts, provided that she confess this of her own accord, shall obtain pardon and shall be prayed for; if, however, she is discovered hiding this, and she is convicted, she should be corrected severely according to the rules of the monastery. She should also be subjected to like severity if she should presume with impious boldness to send letters or gifts to anyone. Nevertheless, if anyone, out of love for her relatives, or because of an acquaintance with someone, should wish to send blessed bread, she may suggest it to the mother; and if the latter permits it, she shall give it through the portresses who shall send it in her name to whomever she should wish. She should not take it upon herself to give nor to receive anything without its passing through the hands of the prioress or the portress.

[Caesarius]

26. Even though it ought never to be thought of nor to be believed at all, that holy virgins would assail one another with

harsh speech and reproaches, if perchance human frailty so behaves that some of the sisters should dare, at the instigation of the devil, to break forth into such impiety as to steal, or to strike one another, those who have violated the precepts of the Rule should receive chastisement as is just and lawful. For it is necessary that there be fulfilled in them that which the Holy Spirit spoke through Solomon concerning undisciplined children: "He that loveth his son frequently chastiseth him" [Eccli. 30:1]; and again: "Thou shalt beat him with the rod and deliver his soul from Hell" [Prov. 32:14]. Let them, however, receive that chastisement in the presence of the congregation according to that saying of the Apostle: "Correct sinners in the presence of all" [I Tim. 5:20].

[Lerins Tradition: *Rule for Monks*]

27. Because the mother of the monastery has to be solicitous for the salvation of souls, and, concerning the temporalities of the monastery, has to think continually of the need for bodily nourishment, and also to entertain visitors and to reply to letters from the faithful, all care of the wool work, by which clothing is provided for the holy sisters, shall be the concern of the prioress or the sister in charge of the weaving. By their industry, whatever garments are necessary shall be provided faithfully, with zeal and love of God, so that whenever the holy sisters should have need, she shall give to them with holy discretion.

[*Rule of St. Augustine: Reg. Aug.*]

28. The clothing should be made in the monastery with such great diligence that it will never be necessary for the abbess to provide from outside the monastery. It should be of no concern to you whether the clothing offered you is suitable for the weather. If at this time murmurings and contentions arise among you because some of you have received something perchance of less worth than you had formerly, examine yourselves here on the great lack that is in you of that interior holy vesture of the heart, when you murmur about the clothing of the body. Nevertheless, if your weakness is borne with, so that you have more than daily need requires, put what you have in one place under common custody,

and let the treasurer¹² hold the keys of the clothes-chests and cupboards.

29. No one shall busy herself with anything of her own, save what the abbess should order or permit; but let all your works be done in common with as much holy zeal and fervent alacrity as if you were working on your own things.

[Lerins Tradition: *Rule for Monks*]

30. For the office of cellarer and of portress and the sister in charge of the wool work such sisters should be chosen by the elders among the religious who, with fear of God, will not consider the wishes of some but the necessities of all. None of the sisters shall presume to store or to have around her bed anything that can be eaten or drunk. Whosoever does this shall receive very severe punishment. Above all I pray before God and His angels that no sister may secretly purchase or receive wine from any source whatever. If it should be sent, the portresses shall receive it in the presence of the abbess or the prioress and hand it over to the cellarer of the wines; and through her dispensation according to the spirit of the rule it shall be given to the one to whom it was sent in the manner which is proper for her infirmity. Because it often happens that the cellar of a monastery does not contain good wine, it will be the concern of the abbess to provide the kind of wine out of which the sick and those of more delicate upbringing may be ministered to.

[*Rule of St. Augustine: Reg. Aug.*]

31. By no means let baths be denied those whose infirmity demands it, and let them be taken without murmuring on the advice of the doctor, so that even if she who is ill does not wish to bathe, at the command of an elder religious that is to be done which is necessary for her health. If, however, bathing is not required because of some infirmity, assent should not be given to an eager desire.

32. The care of the sick or of those suffering from some dis-

¹² Blaise, *op. cit.*, and Ma'nory, *op. cit.*, p. 208, give "treasurer" for *regestoraria*. Souter, *op. cit.*, gives "storekeeper."

ability ought to be enjoined on one quite faithful and full of compassion, who will seek from the cellarer whatever she should see to be necessary. Such a one should be chosen who will preserve monastic austerity and serve the sick with devoted love. If the needs of the sick should demand it, and it should seem right to the mother of the monastery, the sick shall also have their own storeroom and kitchen in common. Those who are put in charge of the storerooms, either of the wine-cellar or of clothing and books, and those in charge of the entrance and of the wool work, shall receive the keys upon a copy of the Gospels, and they shall serve the others without murmuring. If any of the sisters think that the clothing, shoes, or household goods can be used or treated negligently, they should be severely corrected as defrauders of the goods of the monastery.

33. Engage in no quarrels, according to that saying of the Apostle: "... the servant of the Lord must not quarrel...". [II Tim. 2:24] and according to another saying: "Refrain from strife and thou shalt diminish thy sin"; [Eccli. 2:10]. If they should arise, let them be speedily ended, lest wrath swell to hatred and the mote be turned into a beam, and the soul become a murderer. For thus you read: "Everyone who hates his brother is a murderer" [I Jn. 3:15]; and: "... lifting up pure hands without wrath and contention" [I Tim. 2:8]. Whosoever injures her sister by reproach or reviling or accusation of wrong-doing, should be mindful to expiate the fault by satisfaction. If she should repeat the fault, she should be subjected to the greatest severity, until she merits through satisfaction to be received back. The younger religious especially should defer to the elder religious.

34. If for any reason whatever a sister is punished by withdrawal from community life, she shall be removed from the congregation and dwell in the place which the abbess shall appoint with one of the spiritual sisters, until by humbly repenting, she may receive pardon. If, moreover, as is wont to happen, at the prompting of the devil they injure one another, they ought to seek pardon of each other and to forgive offenses on account of the prayers which because they are more frequent, ought to be purer. If the one whose pardon is sought should be unwilling to forgive her sister,

she shall be withdrawn from community life, and let her fear that if she does not forgive she will not be forgiven. Moreover, she who will never seek pardon, or does not seek it from the heart, or who when it is sought does not forgive, is in the monastery in vain. Therefore refrain from harsh words; if they should have escaped anyone let her not be ashamed to utter healing words from the mouth whence wounds were made.

35. When you who are the prioresses are compelled by the necessity of discipline to speak harshly to correct evil ways, even if you perchance feel that you have exceeded the mean in these things, it is not required of you to seek pardon, lest if humility is guarded too much, governing authority should be destroyed among those who should be subject. Nevertheless pardon must be sought from the Lord Who already knows with how much benevolence you love those whom you correct more than is just.

The mother who bears the care of all of you, and the prioress, should be obeyed without murmuring lest in their persons charity be sinned against. Those who are above you should be zealous to preserve discretion and discipline with charity and true affection. Toward all they should show themselves as an example of good works; they should correct the troublesome, console the faint-hearted, sustain the weak [Cf. I Thess. 5:14], reflecting always that they will have to render an account for you to God. Have mercy, then, more especially by holy obedience, not only on yourselves but also on those who, as they are superior in rank among you, are in that much greater danger. For this reason, with reverence humbly obey not only the mother but also the prioress and the choir mistress and novice mistress.

[Lerins Tradition: *Rule for Monks* [in part]]

36. Above all, in order to guard your reputation, let no man enter the cloistered part of the monastery and the oratories except bishops, the provisor and priest,¹³ the deacon and the subdeacon,

¹³ Morin ("Le prêtre arlésien Teridius, propagateur des règles de S. Césaire d'Arles," *op. cit.*, p. 259), apparently thought that the two offices, provisor or caretaker, and priest or curate, were held at one time by Teridius, nephew of St. Caesarius. In his will (*Opéra* II, 285) Caesarius

and one of two lectors whose age and life commends them, and who are needed to offer Mass sometimes.¹⁴ When the roofs have to be mended, or the doors and windows have to be replaced, or something of this sort has to be repaired, skilled workmen and slaves to do any such work may come in with the provisor if necessity requires it; but not without the knowledge and permission of the mother. The provisor himself should never enter the inner part of the monastery except for those necessities which we have included above, and never, or at best with difficulty, without the abbess or some reliable witness, in order that the holy sisters may have their cloister as is fitting and proper.

[Caesarius]

37. Secular matrons and girls and any other women still in lay attire should likewise be prohibited from entering.

38. The abbess must take care that she does not go to guests in the reception room without the honor due her, that is, without two or three sisters. Bishops, abbots, or other religious whose position in life recommends them, ought to be allowed to go into the oratory to pray if they should ask. Care must also be taken that the door of the monastery be open to visitors at convenient hours.

39. You shall never provide meals either in the monastery or out of it for these persons, that is: bishops, abbots, monks, clerics, laymen, women in lay attire, nor the relatives of the abbess or of any of the nuns; nor let a repast be made for the bishop of this city, nor even for the provisor himself of the monastery; nor for women religious of the city unless perchance they are of great holiness of life and such as will maintain sufficiently the reputation of the monastery; but let this be done very rarely.

especially requested that his successor appoint no other as the provisor of the monastery or the priest of St. Mary's than one chosen by himself. Morin (n. for line 14) noted that St. Mary's was the basilica for the convent. The provisor is referred to in chaps. 23, 39, 42 of the *Rule for Nuns*.

Lambot, "Le prototype," *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72, describes the provisor as the priest who performed the functions of procurator and almoner, and supervisor of the workmen who might be called in.

¹⁴ Schmitz, *op. cit.*, VII, 230, notes that this rule may indicate something like the Benedictine weekly Mass and Communion.

40. If a woman from another city should come to the monastery to see her daughter or to visit the monastery, if she is a religious and it seems proper to the abbess, she ought to be invited to dinner, but others never at all; because holy virgins dedicated to God ought rather to pray for all people, leaving all for Christ, than to provide feasts for the body. If a man should wish to see his sister, or daughter, or any relative or a sister-in-law, the visit shall not be denied him, provided the novice mistress or one of the elder religious is present.

41. The abbess shall never eat outside the congregation unless some unusual occurrence or illness or business demands it.

42. Of this especially I admonish you, and with this I charge you, holy mother, and esteemed prioress whoever you may be, and also you to whom the care of the sick is committed, choir mistress, and also novice mistress, that you see to it with utmost vigilance that, in the case of any of the sisters who, by reason of the fact that they were brought up with more delicate care, or that they perhaps suffer from some stomach trouble, and cannot abstain as the others, and certainly fast with great effort, if on account of diffidence they do not presume to ask, do you order them to be supplied by the cellarers, and do you order that they take what is given them. Let them most surely trust that whatever they should receive by the dispensation and command of an elder religious at any hour whatever, they receive Christ in that refreshment. The cellarer and she who is to serve the sick shall be called to witness, before God and His angels, about their zeal in care and solicitude for the sick.¹⁵

I warn you of this also, that because of too much disturbance at the entrance to the monastery, there should not be daily and assiduous begging; but what God should give, as it can be set aside from the needs of the monastery, the abbess shall order to be given to the poor through the provisor.

[*Rule of St. Augustine: Reg. Aug.*]

43. Above all, care must be taken, if anyone should send any-

¹⁵ Cassian, *Inst.* V, 2, notes that those who are sick and weak cannot observe the same fast laws as those who are well.

thing to her daughter, either some clothing necessary for her or anything else, that it be not received secretly; on account of this, before God and His angels, I charge all who might serve in the office of portress to allow nothing to be given out from the monastery, nor to agree that anything be received into the monastery without the knowledge and approval of the abbess. However, if the abbess, as often happens, should be occupied with visitors, the portress should show the prioress whatever may have been presented. If they should fail to conform in this matter, those portresses who allow, and the persons who receive, shall not only undergo the greatest severity of the monastery but on account of the transgression of the holy rule, should know that they shall have to defend themselves with me before God. If a sister should be wanting some necessity she may have what has been sent; if she needs nothing, it shall be put into the common store and given to her who needs it, on account of that command of the Lord: "Let him who has two tunics, share with him who has none" [Luke 3:10]. When they receive new garments, if they have no need of the old ones, the abbess shall give them out to be distributed to the poor or to the beginners and the young religious.

[Caesarius]

44. All clothing should be very simple and of a good color, never of black nor of a bright color, but only of a plain color or milk-white.¹⁶ They shall be made in the monastery through the diligence of the prioress and the careful attention of the sister in charge of wool work and distributed by the mother of the monastery to each according to her reasonable necessities. There should be no dyeing done in the monastery, except, as is stated above, of a plain or milk-white, because the other colors do not befit the humility of a virgin. The sleeping apartments should be simple, for it is utterly improper that worldly bed coverings and decorated tapestries should adorn the bed of a religious.¹⁷ You should never use silver except in the service of the oratory.

¹⁶ As Blaise (*op. cit.*, p. 484) indicates, Caesarius uses the terms "*laia vel lactina*" (plain or milk-white) to designate a plain white as opposed to a shiny, or brilliant or transparent white fabric.

¹⁷ Caesarius shows how necessary and important he considered this rule

45. Quilted or embroidered and all intricately woven coverings or furnishings should never be made in the monastery. Even the furnishings in the oratories ought to be simple, never of pure silk,¹⁸ never *bombycine*;¹⁹ and nothing should be put on them except black or white crosses, of simple workmanship only on ordinary cloth or linen. Waxed curtains ought never to be hung, nor painted pictures affixed, nor ought any paintings be made on the walls and in the rooms, because that ought not to be in the monastery which does not please the spiritual but only the human eye. If some ornaments should be brought to the monastery either by you or some of the faithful, they can be sold and be of profit for the needs of the monastery; or, if it should be necessary, they can be put aside for the basilica of St. Mary. Embroidery should never be done except on handkerchiefs and towels on which the abbess should order it done.

46. None of you, without the order of the abbess, should presume to receive the clothing of clerics or of lay persons, either relatives or any men or women whatever outside the monastery, to wash or to sew or to store or to dye, without the command of

by his warning in one of his letters to the nuns against the luxuries the Rule prohibits:

For there are those (which is worse) who strive rather to work for their earthly desires for that vain ostentation of the world, than to pursue divine reading, while they desire to provide for the concupiscence of their eyes, at enormous cost and with superfluous expenditure, beautiful bed coverings and decorated tapestries and even pillows and the rest of things like that. (*Vercor*, *Opera* II, 140).

¹⁸ Caesarius' use of the word for pure silk—*holoserica*—in *Sermo* CXCVII (*Opera* I, pars ii, 754), throws light on its meaning. It is used figuratively in the Sermon—"niveam baptismi tunicam et speciosam virginitatis holoserica"—to denote something very pure, fine and rare: "the beautiful silk garment of virginity." The text of the Rule gives the form: *oloserica*.

¹⁹ *Bombycina*: TLL and Blaise, *op. cit.*, designate this as a type of silk. Webster's *New International Dictionary* (Second Edition, 1957), gives for the adjective "bombycine": "of silk"; for the noun: "yarn or fabric of silk (obsolete)." Also given are "Bombazine or bombasine: (noun) 1. Raw cotton (obsolete). 2. A twilled dress fabric having a silk warp and a worsted filling; also, such a fabric of cotton or worsted." By "*bombycina*," Caesarius seems to designate a heavier fabric of mixed yarns, in contrast to pure silk, "*oloserica*."

the abbess, lest through that familiarity, imprudent and inimical to one's good name, the reputation of the monastery should be harmed. Whosoever will not observe this should be subject to the severity of the monastery just as if she should have committed a fault.

47. I admonish and I charge you before God and the angels, holy and highly venerated mother of the monastery, and you, the prioress of the holy congregation, let no one's threats or persuasions or flattery ever relax your spirit, and do not yourselves take away anything from the established form of the holy and spiritual rule. I trust moreover, by the mercy of God, that you will not incur guilt for any negligence, but through your obedience, holy and pleasing to God will be able happily to attain eternal beatitude.

RECAPITULATION OF THE RULE

48. Although, with God's favor, at the beginning of the foundation of the monastery we framed a rule for you, nevertheless afterwards through many changes in it we added and deleted things. After examining and testing what you can carry out, we have now settled upon what is in harmony with reason and possibility and sanctity. In so far as we have been able to determine by diligent experiment, the rule has been so moderated under God's inspiration that with the help of God you can keep it in entirety. I beseech you then that nothing in it be subjected to further change nor be taken away.

49. For this reason we wish that whatever we wrote previously be void; this rule, in which I have written the recapitulation with my own hand, I beg and counsel you to fulfill, with the help of God, faithfully and fruitfully without any relaxation, incessantly imploring the help of God, lest the old enemy, who is wont to drag his followers down to himself from the heights of heaven to the depths of hell, ensnare you with his poisonous wiles. Hence I warn you, holy and venerated daughters, to strive zealously to drive away his suggestions with all your strength and with most vigilant attention. And, with the help of God, so run as to obtain,²⁰ because, not he who begins, but "... he that perseveres unto the end, he

²⁰ This clause is obviously based on I Cor., 9: 24.

shall be saved" [Matt. 10: 22; 24: 13]. Although I trust that you in your holy piety will always remember those things which have been written above and that with Christ supporting you, you will strive not only faithfully but fruitfully to fulfill them, nevertheless, in order that those things which we have established may be imprinted in your hearts more firmly,²¹ we have wished to make this little recapitulation, which I have written with my own hand. I ask that, with God inspiring you, you receive it gladly, and that you strive constantly with the help of God to keep it.

50. This is what we especially wish to be observed by you without any relaxation, that no one of you up to the time of her death, be permitted to go forth from the monastery or into that basilica in which you have a door, or presume on her own to go out.²²

51. No one shall have a private cell.

No one shall have a secret intimacy or companionship of any kind with religious or lay persons, either men or women, nor should a woman and a man be allowed to speak together alone for more than a moment. Neither should anyone receive clothing from them to wash or to dye or to take care of or to sew; as we have established in the rule, no one shall dare to send out secretly anything from within, nor to receive within anything from the outside.

52. No one should possess anything of her own outside the monastery nor have anything within, nor set aside anything for her own convenience but, as we have said above, having deeded over her property to whomever she has desired, let her be free from every impediment, by reason of that which the Lord has said: "Everyone of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple" [Lk. 14: 35]; and that saying: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself" [Matt. 16: 24]. If a person has been commanded to deny himself, with what boldness does he presume to keep for himself anything of the

²¹ Caesarius sermons often exhort his hearers to remember and practice what he has just said. See *Sermones* VI and XV for typical injunctions.

²² See p. 171 of the trans., n. 3, and pp. 21-25, *supra*. An alternative translation for the last part of this chapter which would allow for the nuns going into the basilica is:

... be permitted to go forth from the monastery or [when] in the basilica in which you have a door, or presume on her own to go out.

impediments of the world, and should he not tremble over and fear more what is written: "... hindrances of the world make them miserable";²³ and does he attend diligently to that saying of the Apostle: "I would" he says, "have you free from care?" [I Cor. 7: 32]. Faithfully observing these things she may say with secure conscience: "... the world is crucified to me and I to the world" [Gal. 6: 14]; and "I count all things as dung that I may gain Christ" [Philipp. 3: 8].

53. A repast should not be provided for the bishop of this city nor of any other, nor for any man as we have legislated in the Rule.

54. Letters should be received secretly from no one, not even from relatives, nor should letters of any kind whatever be sent without the permission of the abbess.

55. I admonish especially, as I have already said, that neither bright-colored nor black clothing ever be used, nor with purple trim or beaver, but only of some sober color or milk-white.

56. The hair should never be tied up higher than the measure which we have made in this place with ink.²⁴

57. All works shall be done in common.

58. The rule shall be read over often in the parlor to whomever should come to take up religious life, and if she should declare with resoluteness and entirely of her own accord that she will fulfill all the precepts of the rule, she shall stay in the monastery as long as shall seem suitable and reasonable to the abbess. But if she should say she cannot live by the rule, she may not be received at all.

59. The door of the monastery leading outside the basilica should never be open without your will and your permission;²⁵ and at

²³ This text has been identified by Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-87, as coming from the apocryphal *Visio Pauli*. See p. 97, *supra* for more details on the text and Caesarius' frequent use of it as Scripture.

²⁴ Cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

²⁵ This clause has been translated as if the Latin text read: "Ianna monasterii numquam extra basilicam sine vestra voluntate aut sine vestro permissio fiat aperta"; the text actually reads: "Ianna monasterii numquam extra basilicam cum vestra voluntate aut cum vestro permissio fiat"; but the first form would seem to be the more likely meaning. The actual

Vespers and the Nocturns and the noonday hours it should never be open. During these hours and when they are at meals, the abbess shall have the keys in her possession.

The abbess of the holy congregation, who is allowed to possess nothing, nor permitted to have anything for her own private use, I charge in the presence of God, to strive to provide as far as is possible whatever is necessary.

60. Neither quilted nor ornamented, nor purple-dyed or intricately-woven garments should ever be made in the monastery, on account of that saying of the Apostle: "No one, serving as God's soldier, entangles himself in worldly affairs; that he may please him whose approval he has secured" [II Tim. 3:4].

61. At the time that the holy abbess dies none of you should wish because of a carnal affection or because of circumstances of birth, or because of wealth or because of kinship that someone incapable should be chosen; but all, under the inspiration of Christ, with one mind, elect a holy and spiritual nun, who can effectively guard the rule of the monastery, and who shall be able to converse wisely with those who come to her, and with edification and humility and with holy affection; in order that all persons who seek you with great faith and reverence, for their own edification, may bless God more abundantly, and may give thanks in a spiritual way for your choice, and for the holiness of life of her whom you have chosen.

62. Although, holy and highly esteemed daughters, mine especially by charity in Christ, I have no fears concerning the obedience springing from your filial love, nevertheless, by reason of that paternal solicitude by which I desire you to be like unto the angels, I beg again and again, and I charge you by Almighty God, that you permit nothing of the essential form of the holy rule to be diminished, but that with all your strength you labor with the help of God to keep it, knowing that "... every man shall receive his own reward according to his labor" [I Cor., 3:8].

63. This I ask above all, that you in your holiness will not text can be translated as: "Never let a door of the monastery outside the basilica be made by your wish or permission; ..." but this translation contradicts the rest of the passage.

receive our admonition in a light and transitory fashion, because we do not speak out of our own presumption, but according to that which is read in the canonical Scriptures and that which abounds in the books of the ancient Fathers, we counsel you in the way of salvation with deep feeling and with true charity. And because you read that, "He ... that shall break one of these least commandments ... shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven" [Matt., 5:19], do not choose to despise our words uttered in our humility, as if of no worth, on account of that which is written: "... he that despiseth you, despiseth Me" [Luke, 10:16] and that other saying: "... he that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little" [Eccli., 19:1]. For just as in any physical strife anyone would be routed to the extent to which he should be overcome by a younger and weaker person, so in the spiritual contest, in the one who will be neglectful in small things, will be fulfilled what is written; "And whosoever shall keep the whole law but offend in one point, is become guilty of all" [James, 2:10]. Reflecting in great fear and even in trembling, while my soul grows fearful lest some petty sins steal upon you, I not only counsel these things but I even likewise supplicate and admonish you, and with a deep feeling of love I solemnly warn you, so that you may come without shame in the eternal beatitude to the fellowship of the angels and of all the saints, and so that I may happily come to see you receive crowns of glory together with holy Mary²⁶ and with all the other virgins, and to see you follow the Heavenly Lamb; I admonish you that with your whole heart and with your whole soul you strive earnestly to fulfill the precepts included above, through which you may happily attain to your eternal reward.

64. Even though I trust that this will not be done, nor that God on account of his mercy will allow it, if at any time any abbess should try to change or to relax something of the essence of this rule, and, either because of kinship, or for any kind of circumstance, should desire to be subject to and to be within the household of the bishop of this city, under the inspiration of God, with

²⁶ Caesarius speaks only twice in his sermons of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Sermones* VI and X, *Opera* I, part i, 37 and 51). The passage from *Sermo* VI is given on p. 59, *supra*.

our permission, resist on this occasion with reverence and with dignity, and on no account permit it to be done; rather, according to the letter of the most holy Pope of the city of Rome, with God assisting you, strive to make yourselves secure in all things. I admonish especially concerning the recapitulation written below²⁷ which I have written and signed with my own hand, that you remove nothing at all from it. Any abbess and prioress who might try to do anything contrary to the spirit of the rule should know that they will have to plead their guilt in my presence before the tribunal of Christ.

65. If by chance (may God forbid!) any one of our daughters should be so obstinate in spirit, that she out of contempt would refuse to carry out the recapitulation of this rule, written for her salvation and according to the prescriptions of the holy Fathers, do you, inflamed with the zeal of the Holy Spirit remove her from the assembly of your holy congregation; and let her remain apart in the guest quarters until she shall humbly seek pardon, and perform a fit penance; nor should she come back until she conforms herself to the precepts of the rule. I say this because it is to be feared that if the remissness of one is indulged, and if she is not corrected according to rule, others who could profit will be weakened to commit faults. But we are confident, by the mercy of God that if you conduct yourselves in a holy and spiritual manner, and correct with true charity those who are remiss you will happily attain to your eternal reward together, through the help of Our Lord Jesus Christ to Whom is honor and power for ever and ever. Amen.

[Ordo]²⁸

66. With the help of God, "sing ye wisely" [Ps. 46:8]. We have decided to insert in this book the ordo according to which you should chant the psalms, for the most part according to the rule of the monastery of Lerins.

²⁷ Morin (Problèmes, p. 14 above and n. 1) noted that this phrase indicates that chap. 64 has been misplaced by a copyist of the rule. Morin would place it with chap. 65 also, between the end of chap. 47 and the beginning of chap. 48.

²⁸ The headings in brackets throughout chaps. 66-71 are not contained within the Latin text but have been added to give the reader an outline

[The Pasch and its Octave]

[Terce]²⁹

On the first day of the Pasch at Terce, twelve psalms with their alleluias and antiphons;³⁰ three lessons are recited, the first from the Acts of the Apostles, the second from the Apocalypse, and the third from the Gospel; the hymn, "Iam surgit Hora Tertia."³¹

[Sext]³²

At Sext, six psalms with antiphon; the hymn, "Iam Sexta sensim volvitur";³³ and lessons.

[None]

At None likewise, six psalms ought to be recited, with an antiphon,

of the Divine Office and of the liturgical year as the nuns of St. John knew them. The order and the sentence structure of the Latin text have been followed exactly, but the paragraph form of the text has been changed into outline form to enable the reader to see the content of each Hour more easily.

The predominant characteristics and the general significance of the Ordo are discussed, pp. 70-80, *supra*.

²⁹ Terce on Sat., Sun., and feast days has 12 psalms, as here for the Pasch; on weekdays it has 6 psalms: cf. p. 197, *infra*.

³⁰ See pp. 77-79, *supra* for a general summary of the views of Lambot and Gindele on the different meanings of *antiphona*. Lambot ("Césaire," col. 275) considers *antiphona* to mean here a verse of the type that is repeated at intervals by a congregation, while one or more chanters executes the psalm itself—in the manner in which the Invitatory of Matins is chanted in the Roman Office today. Gindele ("Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, p. 16), on the other hand, apparently believes that *antiphona* here is a responsory, since he cites a parallel passage from the ordo of Aurelian to illustrate this usage of *antiphona* as a responsory. Further notes will be given of the opinions of these two scholars on *antiphona* throughout the ordo.

³¹ U. Chevalier, *Repert. Hymnolog.*, n. 9400. (Hereafter cited as "Chevalier.") All of the citations for hymns are from Morin's notes. Bulst, *op. cit.*, prints the hymns of Caesarius Ordo. He includes (p. 41) this hymn under those assigned to Ambrose.

³² Sext and None have the same structure on all days and seasons: cf. p. 197 *infra*.

³³ Chevalier, 9383; Bulst, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

the hymn, "Ter Hora trina volvitur,"³⁴ a lesson and a *capitellum*³⁵

[Vespers]³⁶

At *Lucernarium* a short *directaneus*,³⁷ three antiphons,³⁸ and the hymn "Hic est dies verus dei";³⁹ you should chant this entire hymn both at Lauds⁴⁰ and at Vespers during the whole of the Octave of the Pasch.

[Duodecima]⁴¹

At *Duodecima*, on the first day, "Sol cognovit occasum suum,"⁴² and ten and eight psalms are recited,⁴³ three antiphons,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20340; Bulst, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³⁵ There seems to be general agreement with Lambot's definition of the *capitellum* ("Césaire," col. 276) as "a series of versets and responses excerpted from the psalms, analogous to our *preces*."

³⁶ It seems evident from the use of the term Vespers in this set of directions for *Lucernarium*, and from its use in chap. 60, lines 28-30 of the Latin text, that the terms *Lucernarium* and *vespera* are synonymous for Caesarius. *Lucernarium* here in chap. 60 and *vespera* in chap. 69 have the same set of directions.

³⁷ A psalm, usually short, in which the verses are chanted one after another by all without interruption, as distinct the psalms with antiphons and alleluias; see Lambot, "Césaire," col. 275.

³⁸ It would seem from Lambot's discussion of *antiphona* ("Césaire," col. 275) that he regards these antiphons as psalms recited by alternate sides of the choir; Gindele regards them as responsories ("Die Struktur der Nokturnen," p. 16). The same note holds for the "three antiphons" under *Duodecima* in the passage immediately ff.

³⁹ Chevalier, 7793; Bulst (*op. cit.*, p. 47), includes this among the hymns assigned to Ambrose.

⁴⁰ *Matutinos*: also in *Reg. virg.*, chap. 69, p. 24, l. 21; and *matutinales canonici*, chap. 69, p. 24, l. 15. Lambot ("Césaire," col. 275), and Beck (*op. cit.*, p. 111), note that the term designates the Hour analogous to Lauds in the Divine Office today.

⁴¹ See pp. 74-75 *supra* for discussion of *Duodecima*.

⁴² Ps. 103: 10. In *Sermo CXXXV* (*Opera* I, part i, 536), Caesarius referred to Ps. 103 as "qui per omnem mundum dicitur et in ecclesiis et in monasteriis ad duodecimam horam."

⁴³ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 275 believes that the term "*psalmus*" without any qualification refers to a *directaneus*.

and the hymn, "Christe precamur annue."⁴⁴ On the alternate day, at *Duodecima*, the hymn, "Christe qui lux es et dies"⁴⁵ should be said. And thus, at all times, these two hymns should be said in turn. Two lessons should be recited at the Paschal *Duodecima*, one from the Apostle and the other from the Gospels, concerning the Resurrection.

[The Nocturns]

At the Nocturns ten and eight psalms⁴⁶ should be chanted, the minor antiphons⁴⁷ with their alleluias, and two lessons, a hymn, and a *capitellum*.

This should be the order for celebrating on all seven days.

[Pasch to October]

[The Nocturns]

After the Pasch those Nocturns should be said until the first of October,

[Vigils]

and, until the first of August, Vigils are only to be held on Fridays and Sundays.

[Procedure for fasting]

After the Pasch until Pentecost, on Friday there shall be a repast once a day.

[Vigils]

After *Duodecima* there should be six readings,⁴⁸ that is, ten and

⁴⁴ Chevalier, 2923; Bulst, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 2933, 2934; Bulst, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴⁶ Cassian (*Inst.* II, 2), tells of the use of 12 psalms for the Nocturns among the Egyptians, but notes that monks in other countries, not knowing the customs of the desert Fathers, used different numbers, some "decem et octo."

⁴⁷ Gindele ("Die Struktur der Nokturnen," p. 16) believes that this passage clearly shows "*antiphona*" to be a responsory as it here refers to a minor or short responsory; Gindele maintains that one does not refer to "minor" and "major" psalms.

⁴⁸ See p. 76 f. *supra* for the discussion of the readings (*missae*). Beck's translation "readings" (*op. cit.*, p. 110) seems to be best, as "lessons" would be confused with *lectiones* (*Reg. virg.*, p. 23, l. 34; p. 24, ll. 1, 3). As will be seen, the readings were drawn from various books of Scripture

eight lessons should be recited from memory;⁴⁹

[The Nocturns]

next, ten and eight psalms, three antiphons.

[Vigils]

After the Nocturns, three readings ought to be made from the book until dawn.

[Procedure for Fasting]

[Pentecost to September]

[Similar passage found in Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*]

67. Fasting. From Pentecost until the first of September—in this period choose how you ought to fast; that is, as the mother of the monastery sees the strength or possibility, she shall endeavor to make regulations.

[September to November]

From the first of September to the first of November there should be fasting on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday;

[November to Christmas]

From the first of November to Christmas, except on feast days and Saturdays,⁵⁰ there should be fasting every day.

[Before Epiphany]

Before Epiphany there should be fasting for seven days.

and from the Acts of the Martyrs. Rev. J. A. Jungmann, S. J., in *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (trans. Rev. F. A. Brunner, C. SS. R., New York, 1950), also refers to the missae as "readings" or "lessons" (pp. 261-262). He also notes that "... a custom grew up of calling every divine service as a unit a *missa*" (p. 174).

⁴⁹ Lambot ("Césaire," col. 275) notes that it is evident from this text that each *missa* consisted of three readings. Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* (p. 153, ll. 5-8) indicates the probability that the *Reg. virg.*, also had prayers between the readings.

⁵⁰ Lambot ("Césaire," col. 271) notes that this is contrary to Roman usage where there was fasting on Saturday.

Cassian (*Inst.* III, 9) notes that in Palestine and Mesopotamia there was a dispensation from fasting on Saturday as well as Sunday.

Caesarius apparently does not consider it necessary to note that there is no fasting on Sunday. In his *Rule for Monks* (p. 153, ll. 24) however,

[Epiphany to Lent]

From Epiphany to the week before Lent there should be fasting on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

[Directions for Office continued: Christmas and Epiphany]

[Vigils]

68. For Christmas and Epiphany the vigil should be held from the third hour of the night until dawn, so that before the Nocturns six readings from the Prophet Isaiah are said, and after the Nocturns, six readings from the Gospel. For Epiphany, before the Nocturns, six readings from Daniel are to be said, after the Nocturns, six readings from the Gospel.

[Weekdays]

[Terce, Sext, None]

On weekdays at Terce, Sext, None, six psalms with antiphons, hymns, lessons, and *capitella* are to be said.

[Saturdays and Sundays]

[Terce]

[Rule for Monks]

On Sundays and Saturdays at Terce, six psalms;

after which, three lessons: one from the Prophets, the next from the Apostle, and the third from the Gospels;

and after these lessons, six psalms,

one antiphon,

a hymn,

and a *capitellum*.

[All Feast Days]

[Terce]

On all feast days, to the twelve psalms⁵¹ which are said at Terce

he notes "... usque pascha omni die ieiunandum absque die dominice. Qui dominica ieiunat, peccat." There is a brief mention here of Lent, whereas in the *Rule for Nuns*, there is no mention at all of the Lenten fast.

⁵¹ The Latin text actually reads: "Cunctis diebus festis ad duodecim psalmi, qui ad tertiam dicendi sunt, antiphonae tres iungantur." It has been translated as if it read "Cunctis diebus festis ad duodecim psalmos..." It is impossible to translate the first reading without making

three antiphons are to be joined;
the pertinent lessons, that is belonging to that feast, are to be said.
[October to the Pasch]

[The Nocturns]

[*Rule for Monks*]

69. From the first of October to Easter, add the Second Nocturns, that is, eighteen psalms, two lessons, and a hymn.

At the first Nocturns, in the beginning say "Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam";⁶²

At the end, "Rex aeternae domine."⁶³

At the second Nocturns: "Magna et mirabilia."⁶⁴

On the alternate night at the First Nocturns "Mediae noctis tempus est"⁶⁵ is to be said;

at the Second Nocturns, "Aeternae rerum conditor."⁶⁶

At the Second Nocturns, on the first day begin with "Miserere mei deus miserere mei."⁶⁷

After the Nocturns three collects are to be read;

an antiphon is to be chanted,

a response,

and another antiphon.⁶⁸

some kind of change. The reading suggested here follows and develops the line of thought in the previous passage. It is also confirmed by the parallel passage in Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* (*Opera* II, 154, l. 7): "Omni sabbato et omni dominica vel diebus festis duodecim psalmos. . ."

⁶² Ps. 50: 3.

⁶³ Chevalier, 17303; Bulst. *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10922. See Morin, "Un texte préhiéronymien du cantique de l'Apocalypse, XV, 3-4: l'hymne *Magna et mirabilia*," *Rev. Bén.*, XXVI (1909), 464-67. Morin shows that this is not a hymn properly speaking, but "a simple extract from Apoc. XV, 3 sq." It is not from the Vulgate version, however, the hymn was in the Mozarabic Office, and in certain Benedictine breviaries to the end of the Middle Ages.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 11420; Bulst. *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 447; Bulst. *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Ps. 50: 2.

⁶⁸ For Gindele ("Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, p. 15) this is another passage which shows clearly that *antiphona* means responsory. He believes that the three elements here describe responsory as it exists in the modern office.

[Vigils]

After this, until dawn, four readings⁶⁹ are to be completed. If it is at all possible, they are never to be diminished; they are never to be begun before the proper time nor after time.

[Lauds]

After this the canonical morning prayers should be said, on ordinary days, with antiphons, on feast days they should be chanted with alleluia.

[Vigils]

Every Sunday, six readings are to be made; afterwards, Lauds.

[Lauds]

At the beginning say a short *directaneus*;⁷⁰

"Confitemini"⁷¹ with an antiphon,⁷²

"Cantemus domino"⁷³

and all the psalms of Lauds⁷⁴ with alleluias are to be said.

[Vigils]

Vigils should be celebrated on Saturdays and on all feast days.

[Lauds]

On these solemnities, when performing Lauds, they should say the hymn "Te deum laudamus."⁷⁵

They are to go to the outer oratory and say a short *directaneus*;⁷⁶

after this, the canticle "Cantemus domino,"

then the blessing of the three youths;⁷⁷

after the blessing, the hymn "Gloria in excelsis deo."⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Near the end of the same long chap. 69, Caesarius rules that in winter after the Nocturns "three readings should be completed"; (*Reg. virg.*, l. 5, p. 25; under [General Regulations] in this trans.). This would seem to contradict the above "four readings" as it comes under the heading [Oct. to the Pasch].

⁷⁰ Caesarius' *Rule for Monks* (ll. 8-9, p. 153) shows this to be Ps. 144.

⁷¹ Ps. 117: 1.

⁷² This is the one instance in which Gindele designates *antiphona* as other than responsory. He seems to designate it here as a psalm recited invitatory style ("Die Struktur der Nokturnen," *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17). Lambot also designates this as psalms said as invitatory ("Césaire," col. 277).
⁷³ Ex. 15: 1.

⁷⁴ Lambot ("Césaire," col. 275) identifies "omnes matutinarii" as the "psalms of Lauds."

⁷⁵ Lambot ("Césaire," col. 277) notes that there is an unexplained repetition here of the procedure for Lauds.

⁷⁶ Chevalier, 20086.

⁷⁷ Dan. 3: 57 ff.

⁷⁸ Chevalier, 7280.

[Prime] ⁶⁹

[Caesarius]

Then Prime is said with six psalms, and the hymn "Fulgentius auctor aetheris"; ⁷⁰ two lessons, one from the Old, the other from the New Testament, and a *capitellum*. In this manner, Sunday, Saturday, and major feasts ought to be observed.

[Vespers]

At Vespers, in a similar manner in the outer oratory a short *directaneus* is said, and three antiphons; the hymn on the one day, "Deus qui certibus legibus," ⁷¹ on the alternate day, "Deus creator omnium." ⁷²

[Vigils]

[Sundays]

On all Sundays the Gospels should be read at Vigils; always one Gospel of the Resurrection should be read at the first reading; on the next Sunday, the next Gospel of the Resurrection; and thus on the third, and on the fourth. And while that first reading on the Resurrection is read, and always at the first reading one Gospel of the Resurrection is read, no one may be seated; afterwards at the five readings which follow, all, according to custom, may be seated.

[Feasts of Martyrs]

When the feasts of Martyrs are celebrated, the first reading should be read from the Gospels, the remaining ones from the Passions of the martyrs. ⁷³

[Ordinary days]

On ordinary days at Vigils the books of the New and Old Testament should be read in their order.

⁶⁹ See discussion of Prime, p. 75 f., *supra*.

⁷⁰ Chevalier, 6008; Bulst, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁷¹ Chevalier, 4489; Bulst, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁷² Chevalier, 4420; Bulst, *op. cit.*, p. 42, lists this hymn among those assigned to Ambrose.

⁷³ For a brief discussion of the readings from the "Acts" of the martyrs see "B. de Gaiffier, "La lecture des actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident. A propos du passionnaire hispanique," *Analecta*

[General Regulations]

In winter, every day after the Nocturns three readings should be completed. Above all, the reading at Vigils should be so regulated that it could both be looked forward to and always increased . . . ⁷⁴ and thus during the individual lessons, two, and certainly not more than three pages are to be read aloud. However, if it should happen that they rise later for Vigils, let them read single pages or as much as shall seem best to the abbess; and it shall be in her power that when she has made a sign, the one who reads should rise without delay in order that the canonical number of readings may be completed. For this reason, the Vigils are to be so moderated, that those who are well are not oppressed with sleepiness after Vigils. ⁷⁵

[Spiritual Reading]

At all times after Lauds until the second hour they should read; afterwards they should do their work.

[Vigils for the Dead]

[Before Midnight]

70. When anyone dies, a few sisters should keep watch until the middle of the night, and the Apostle should be read;

[After Midnight: for an elder sister]

after midnight those who have kept the Vigil may rest until Matins, and the remaining sisters keeping the Vigil should read one reading from the Gospels, the rest of them from the Apostle.

This, if anyone of the elder sisters should have died;

[for a younger sister]

if it should be a younger sister, the reading should be read from the Apostle until Matins.

hollandiana, LXXII (1954), 134-66. For Caesarius' *ordo*, see p. 74 ff. Also of interest is de Gaiffier's "Reflexions sur les origines du culte des martyrs," *La Maison-Dieu*, No. 52 (1957), 19-43.

⁷⁴ Morin notes (*Reg. vtrg.*, p. 25) a lacuna in the ms. here.

⁷⁵ Chap. 15 of the rule provides that the nuns may do some work which does not distract them during Vigils in order not to become drowsy. It also rules that those who become drowsy should stand during Vigils. In *Inst.* II, 11-12, Cassian discusses the moderating of the length of prayers so as not to over-weary the monks, the giving of a sign by the *senior* who presides at Office, and the performing of manual work during Office by the monks.

[Services for the Dead in the Basilica]

Above all, great care is to be taken to notify the holy bishop, when anyone of the sisters dies, that he may bring her into the basilica where she is to be buried, with chanting with holy devotion and the clerks of St. Mary's.

[Procedure for fasting]

[Similar passage found in Caesarius' *Rule for Monks*]

⁷¹1. It has seemed necessary to us to include even the procedure for meals in this rule. On all days of fasting, three dishes are to be provided, but on days when lunch is taken, only two.⁷² On major feasts, at lunch and dinner dishes may be added, and iced wine mixed with must should be added for dessert.⁷³ On ordinary days,

⁷⁴ Passages from Caesarius' sermons and from St. Benedict's rule help to clarify the meaning of this chapter. *Sermo CXLVIII* (*Opera* I, part ii, 758) contains the information that fast days were days on which one did not break one's fast by a meal in the middle of the day—"prandium": lunch or dinner—but fasted until the evening meal—"caena": dinner or supper.

Ante omnia in diebus ieiuniorum quod prandere solebamus pauperibus erogemus, ne forte aliquis sibi sumptuosas caenas et exquisitis saporibus epulas studeat praeparare, et corpori suo magis commutasse quam subtraxisse ciborum abundantiam videatur. Nihil est tota die longum duxisse ieiunium, si postea ciborum suavitatem vel nimietatem animae obruat.

The Rule uses a special term for the one meal on fast days—"refectio." It is used in the verb form in chap. 66: "reficiendum est." St. Benedict uses the same three terms for meals in his rule, chap. 39: "Panis libra una propensa sufficiat in die, sive una sit refectio, sive prandii et cenae."

In *Sermo CXCI* *Opera* I, part ii, 760, Caesarius made clear again that it was the meal known as "prandium" which might not be taken on fast days. He also repeated his admonition not to increase greatly the one meal on fast days. It will be noted that in this chapter of the Rule he ruled that the younger sisters should receive no increase for their *refectio*.

"recentes ad dulciamina addendae sunt." This passage might also be translated as "sweetened, iced wine," or "new" or "fresh iced wine." Quite varied translations have been given: Blaise, *op. cit.*, gave for this use of "recentes" "une nouvelle venue"; Souter, *op. cit.*, gave "a newcomer"; Lambot, "Cesaire," col. 271, gave for the phrase "recentes ad dulciamina" "douceurs aromatisées"; and Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 206, simply gave "desserts." Malnory noted that, according to chap. 30 of the Rule, wine sent to the convent was only to be given to the sick. However, he failed to note that chap. 14 ruled that wine was to be given to the sister

at lunch in summer they are to receive two measures of hot drinks;⁷⁵ in winter at lunch, two measures of hot drink; at the repast on fast days, three measures of hot drink; at dinner two measures of hot drink suffice. The younger sisters are to receive two at lunch, at dinner, and at the repast on fast days. Fowls are to be brought forth only for the sick; they are never to be served in community.

taking her weekly turn at cooking; it would not seem that chap. 30 ruled out all possible use of wine as a delicacy for fast days.

The translation given here is based on Morin's note comparing the use of "recentes" here to its usage in two letters of Avitus of Vienne (ed. R. Peiper, MGH, *auc. ant.*, VI, part ii [Berlin, 1883], 91, 96. H. Goelzer, *Le Latin de saint Avit, évêque de Vienne*, 450-526 [Paris, 1909], p. 559 translated "recentes" "rasades de vin à la glace."

Aviti *Epistula LXXIII* (95), p. 91.

Vellem nunc scire, quid prosit, gulae peculiaris famuli si studentis, cui ne datas a deo vobisque epulas de ore vel animus raperet, optabilis absenti tandi causa me rapit. Ceterum de recentibus quia praecipitis, et meas partes cedo et multiplico suas. Utatur paterarum capacitate pro cupis; atterat labris fialas, quas circumdet pittaciorum densitate pro circulis. Nam curabo ego quoque, quod eum velle cognosco, quo, cum simile aliquid de vestra benedictione eruerò, ad multiplicandas recentes gulae calenti si non excogitatur modus in calicibus, ponatur in piscibus. Aviti *Epistula LXXVI* (77), p. 96.

Iam de cibis taceo; in accipiendis recentibus maior est poena; musta deposcens aut medicina patior aut aliquid rapuisse confingor. Summa inopportunitate perago, ut tres recentes aliis plus praesumam.

Under "recentatum vinum" Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis* (10 vols., Niot, 1883-87) cited these two passages from Avitus, giving the same meaning, "iced wine," as Goelzer, and adding "... vinum antiquum musto, vel lixivio, vel tortivo commisceretur, vel quasi renovaretur.

Under "recentarius" Forcellini-Corradini-Perin, *Lexicon totius latinitatis* (4 vols. Padua, 1864-87) gave "qui vendit vinum recentatum, h. e. nive refrigeratum. . . . Huiusmodi vinum esse videtur . . . quod recens mustum Romani appellabant . . . recens, recentis, . . . *Recens vinum* est novum, et veteri opponitur apud Scribon. Compos. 271. Hinc novum opponit veteri etiam Cic. *Brut.* 83. 287. *Recens mustum* appellatur, quod ita servatur, ut dulce semper tanquam recens permaneat. *Colum.* 12 R. R. 20. 1.

Blaise also gave for "recentarium" "recipient a rafraichir le vin"; and for "recentarius" "marchand de vin frais." His meaning of "nouvelles venues" for "recentes" could not be used grammatically in the sentence in which it appears in the Rule.

⁷⁵ "caldellos." See *Thesaurus linguae latinae*: "caldellus, i, m. a calidus vel calida diminutive. i. q. vasculum certam calidae potionis mensuram continens. Caes. Arel. reg. virg. 16.

No flesh meat is ever to be taken at all for nourishment; if, by chance, someone should be gravely ill, she may take it by the order and permission of the abess.

[Conclusion to the entire Rule]

72. I beseech and supplicate you before our Lord God, O most dutiful sisters, in order for you to be perpetually grateful in this wise to my humble self and your holy mothers, that is, the founders of the monastery and the authors of the Rule; that you, by your charitable intercession keep watch for us day and night; and in public prayer through your holy supplication, obtain, in solemnities by day or vigils by night, that your petition, ascending in the sight of the Lord may make and grant me to be a worthy bishop over his Church, and them to be worthy superiors in the service of holy virgins; and when before His tribunal we begin to render an account of the talents entrusted to us, if there are faults and negligences, either concerning the care of my church, or of the mothers in regard to those committed to them, that the Lord will deign to pardon us, and to heal the wounds of sin with the medicine of forgiveness. For faults are not amended unless He remits them through the prayers of the saints, nor does He remit them unless they have been amended.

73. And because for the sake of guarding the monastery, I have closed and forbidden the use of some doors, in the old baptistery, in the *scola* and in the weaving room, and in the tower next to the *pomerium*, let no one ever presume under any pretext of utility whatsoever to open them: but it shall be allowed to the holy congregation to offer resistance, and they are not to permit that to be done which they know to be against their good reputation or peace.

I, Caesarius, a sinner, have read and signed this rule for nuns. I have dated it under June 22, in the consulship of Paulinus.⁷⁰

I, Simplicius, a sinner, have approved and signed.

I, Severus, a bishop, have approved and signed.

I, Lupercianus, a bishop, have approved and signed.

I, John, have approved and signed.

I, Cyprianos, a bishop, have approved and signed.

I, Montanus, have approved and signed.

I, Firminius, a sinner, have approved and signed.

⁷⁰ Morin, ed. *Reg. virg.*, p. 26, gives 534 for this date.

APPENDIX I:

PRINCIPAL DATES IN THE LIFE OF CAESARIUS

Attempts to date the life of Caesarius begin with the statement of the *Vita sancti Caesarii* that Caesarius died at the end of a forty-year episcopate on August 27 in his seventy-third year.¹ The *Vita* does not say what year, and it is with this problem that the work of scholars begins. The Bollandist Stiltingus was apparently the first to present evidence for the dates 502-542 for Caesarius' episcopate.² His arguments were not accepted by Malnory who preferred 503-543.³ The latter was followed by such scholars as Chaillan,⁴ Lejay,⁵ Leclercq,⁶ and Bardy.⁷ An ever-increasing number of scholars, however, who form a majority today have accepted Stiltingus' dates, among them Arnold,⁸ Krusch,⁹ Morin,¹⁰ Lambot,¹¹ de Plinval,¹² and Beck.¹³

Stiltingus examined records marking the episcopates both of Eonius, the predecessor, and Auxanius, the successor of Caesarius. He found that Auxanius was addressed as bishop of Arles in a letter from Pope Vigilius dated October 18, 543.¹⁴ Recalling that Caesarius died on an August 27, the Bollandist reasoned that, in

¹ *Vita* II, 47, 344.

² J. Stiltingus, ed., *Vita sancti Caesarii*, Acta sanctorum XXVII Augusti t. VI (Venice, 1753), 50-54.

³ Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁴ Chaillan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁵ Lejay, *op. cit.*, cols. 2169-70.

⁶ H. Leclercq, "Cénobitisme," *DACL*, II, part ii (1925), 3189, 3201.

⁷ G. Bardy, "La prédication," p. 201.

⁸ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

⁹ Krusch, *op. cit.*, 433, 444.

¹⁰ Morin, *Opera* II, 99.

¹¹ Lambot, "Césaire," col. 200.

¹² de Plinval, "Césaire d'Arles," *op. cit.*, col. 186.

¹³ Beck, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

¹⁴ *Vigiliis Epistolae*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH, *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, I, part iii (Berlin, 1892), 58.

the short period of time between August 27, 543 and October 18, 543, Auxanius could not have elected bishop of a metropolitan see, have despatched messengers to the Pope, and have received his answer. Those activities would most probably have consumed more than two months. Caesarius, then, must have died on August 27, 542 as that date allows a year and two months to elapse for the election of Auxanius and his exchange of letters with the Pope.¹⁵ Examining evidence at the other end of Caesarius' episcopate Stiltingus found none that would contradict the fact of his becoming bishop in 502, forty years before 542. The last record of Caesarius' predecessor, Eonius, is a letter of Pope Symmachus to Bishop Avitus of Vienne, mentioning that Eonius was still bishop on October 13, 501.¹⁶ 502-542 seem, then, the most probable dates for Caesarius' episcopate.

Information given in the *Vita sancti Caesarii* has enabled scholars to calculate other dates in the life of Caesarius. Three are especially relevant to this study. He must have been born in 469 or 470 (or 471 for those who accept Malnory), since the *Vita* states that he died in his seventy-third year. It also states that he died thirty years after the foundation of the convent,¹⁷ which was, then, founded in 512. It tells us that he was twenty when he went to Lerins,¹⁸ which places this event in 490. Scholars seem to agree on the conjecture that he stayed there about six or seven years.

Malnory rejected as "purely arbitrary" the arguments of Stiltingus, placing the dates of Caesarius' death in 542 so as to leave more than two months for the exchange of letters between the successor of Caesarius and Pope Vigilius. He used the date of the foundation of the convent (for him, 513) as the focal point for calculation, believing that, since the *Vita* recorded this event just before the journey of Caesarius to Ravenna at the end of 513, the convent must have been built in that year.¹⁹ Even in Malnory's time however, Stiltingus' dates were more commonly accepted,²⁰ and they are even more so today.

¹⁵ Stiltingus, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-54.

¹⁶ *Acti Sancti Opera*, ed. R. Peiper, MGH, *Auc. ant.*, VI, part ii (Berlin, 1892), 58.

¹⁷ *Vita* II, 47, 344.

¹⁸ Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 282 and n. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, also p. 1.

APPENDIX II:

PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE Rule for Nuns BEFORE MORIN'S EDITION

Morin ("Problèmes," pp. 6-7) lists the principal printed editions of the Rule, from the first by E. Moquot, S. J., in 1621 (in an appendix to a life of St. Radegund), to his own in 1833. He notes that all except that of J. Bollandus, *Acta sanctorum* Januarii, t. I (Antwerp, 1643), 730-37, and his own, were based on Moquot's edition. Those following Moquot were printed in:

Prosper Stellartius. *Fundamina et regulae omnium ordinum*. Douai: 1626.

Lucas Holste. *Codex regularum*. Rome: 1661; Paris: 1663; Augsburg: 1759. (Morin notes that there are certain arbitrary changes in the different editions of the *Codex regularum*, perhaps due to the fact that "... death prevented Holste himself from attending to the edition, and that someone was content to print the text which he had at hand, making arbitrary changes here and there.")

C. Le Cointe. *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*. Paris: 1665-1668.

Maynard (F. Meinardus). *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, t. VIII. Lyons: 1667.

Morin added two reprints of the Augsburg edition of Holste, which is, the Holste-Brockie edition of 1759:

A. Galland. *Bibliotheca graeco-latina veterum patrum*, t. XI. Venice: 1788.

J. Migne. PL, t. LXVII. Paris: 1865.

Commenting on these last two reprints based indirectly on the first printed edition of Moquot, Dom Morin noted that Galland utilized the best that his predecessors, notably Bollandus, Le Cointe and Martène had written on the rule; and that, in turn, a few of Galland's notes improved somewhat the reprint of the rule in Migne which otherwise merely reproduced the faulty Holste-Brockie edition.

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¹⁶ *Acti Sancti Opera*, ed. R. Peiper, MGH, *Auc. ant.*, VI, part ii (Berlin, 1892), 58.

¹⁷ *Vita* II, 47, 344.

¹⁸ *Vita* I, 4, 298.

¹⁹ Malnory, *op. cit.*, p. 282 and n. 2.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Auc. ant.* *Auctores antiquissimi* (in Monumenta Germaniae historica).
 Bardy, "La prédication." "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles," *RHEF*, XXIX (1943), 201-36.
 Chevalier, "Repertorium Hymnologicum."
CSEL. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DACL. Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.
DDC. Dictionnaire de droit canonique.
DHGE. Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.
DSAM. Dictionnaire de spiritualité d'ascétique et de mystique.
DTG. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.
 Flor. Patris. Florilegium Patristicum.
 Lambot, "Césaire." "Césaire d'Arles (Règles de saint)." *DDC*, III (1942), 260-78.
 Lambot, "Le prototype." "Le prototype des monastères cloîtres de femmes: L'abbaye S. Jean d'Arles." *Rev. lit. et mon.*, XXXIII (Maredsous, 1938), 169-74.
 MGH. Monumenta Germaniae historica.
 Morin, "Problèmes." "Problèmes relatifs à la règle de s. Césaire d'Arles pour les moniales." *Rev. Bén.*, XLIV (1932), 5-20.
 Opera I, II. Sancti Caesaris Opera omnia, vols. I and II.
 PL. Patrologia latina.
Reg. Aug. *Regula Augustini*.
Reg. mon. *Regula monachorum* (Sancti Caesaris).
Reg. virg. *Regula sanctarum virginum* (Sancti Caesaris).
Reg. sor. *Regula sororum*. (Sancti Augustini *Epistula 211*).
Rev. Bén. *Revue bénédictine*.
RHEF. *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*.
Rev. lit. et mon. *Revue liturgique et monastique*.
SS. rer. merov. *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*. (in Monumenta Germaniae historica).
Vita, I, II. *Vita Sancti Caesaris*, bks. I and II.

208

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209

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INDEX

- abbatissa*, use of the term, 42, 173 and n. 7.
- abbess, office of, 67, 85, 113, 175, 179, 180-184, 189 f., 190 ff., 196, 204; see also Caesaria, Caesaria the Younger, Celsa, Lilliola, Rusticula, abbesses of St. John.
- abstinence, 57, 87, 177, 203 f.
- admission of candidates, 81, 100, 171-73, 189.
- Advent, 74, 87, 196.
- Agde, Council of (506), 4, 9, 11, 91.
- Agnes, abbess of Radegund's monastery at Poitiers, 17, 159 f.
- Aigrain, R., 159 ff.
- alienation of diocesan property, 11 ff.
- Aliscamps, 13, 24.
- almsgiving, 41, 81, 172 f., 184.
- Alypius, 109.
- Ambrose, St., 43, see also hymns, Ambrosian and Ambrosian school.
- Ananias, 103, 173.
- Anna, model of widows, 59.
- antiphon, 77 f., 193-200 *passim*.
- Arians, Caesarius' dealings with, 5.
- Arles, siege of, 14; christian quarter of, 19 ff.; economic, social and political life of, 26 ff.; archaeological remains of, 19 ff.; Councils of, (454), 93, (524), 9, 15, 22; See of, see prerogatives of the See of Arles.
- Arnold, C. F., 1, 98, 180, n. 24; 205.
- asceticism, 3 f., 53 ff., 56 ff., 80-84 *passim*; 90 f., 99 ff., 106, 112 f., 100 f., 171-192 *passim*; 202-204; see also renunciation, poverty, chastity, obedience, humility, spiritual warfare, fasting.
- Asile de saint Césaire, on site of Convent of St. John, 20 ff.
- Athanasius, St., 50, n. 17.
- Augustine of Hippo, St., greatly esteemed by Caesarius, 6 f., 12, 45, 104; teachings followed by Caesarius: on monasticism, 103, 104, 107-26; from *De sancta virginitate*, 49, n. 1; 52, n. 17; on grace, 6, 104; in his sermons, 7, 45; founder of monasteries, 28, 114 f.; Letter 211 to nuns of Hippo, 107 f., see *Rule of St. Augustine*; *Retractationes*, 115; *Vita sancti Augustini* of Possidius, 115.
- Aurelian, bishop of Arles, 48, 75, 158.
- authenticity of the *Rule for Nuns*, 31 ff.
- Auxanius, bishop of Arles, 205 f.
- Avitus, bishop of Vienne, 206.
- baptistry, near Convent of St. John, 14; archaeological remains of, 21 ff.; referred to in the *Rule for Nuns*, 204.
- Bardy, G., 2, 7, 37 f., 43 f., 205.
- Basil, St., 28, 52, n. 17; 63.
- Basilica of St. Mary, adjoining convent of St. John, 15, 21-24, 171, 180, 188, 189, 202.
- Basina, nun of Holy Cross, Poitiers, 160.
- baths, for the sick, 83, 122-23, 145-46, 180; nuns' use of public baths, 120-23, 145-46.
- Baudonivia, nun of Holy Cross, Poitiers, 160, n. 29, 209.
- Beck, H. G. J., vi, 2 f., nn. 2, 3; 7 f., 20, n. 107; 24, 45, n. 44; 52, n. 18; 74 f., 167, 195, n. 48; 205.
- Benedict of Aniane, 32, 47, 92, 98.

- Benedict of Nursia, St., see *Rule of St. Benedict*.
 Benoit, F., 10-24.
 Besse, J., 28 f.
 binding force of the *Rule for Nuns*, 12, 15, 49, 52, 67, 82, 187-92 *passim*.
 Blandiacens, monastery of, 9.
 Bollandist edition of the *Rule for Nuns*, 33, 207.
 bombycine, 186.
 breviary, Roman, 74.
 Bulst, W., 77, n. 148; 103-200 *passim*.
 burial of nuns, 15 f., 24, 86, 201 f.
 Caesaria, sister of Caesarius, first abbess of St. John, 13 ff., 17, 22, 24, 60, 204.
 Caesaria the Younger, second abbess of St. John, 15 f., 25.
 Caesarius of Arles, St., early life 3; monk of Lerins, 3 f., 9, 14, 91 f.; priest of Arles, 4; abbot of monastery of Trinquetaille, 9, 91; metropolitan of Arles, 1-13; promotion of the liturgy, 4, 6, 70-74; see also Divine Office, *Ordo, Rule for Monks*; regulation of parish and clerical life, 4, 6; relations with secular rulers, 4 f.; basic theme of spiritual teachings, 2 f., 7 f., 52 f., 58 f., 93; see also heaven; teaching on grace, 6, 89, 104; sermons and promotion of good preaching, 1, 7 f., 32 f., 35-46, 50, 54, 58 f.; 173, n. 6; 177, 191, n. 26; 202, n. 77; characteristic style of writing, 35-46; promotion of cenobitic life for monks, 8 f., 90-95; see also *Rule for Monks*; adaptation and promotion of cenobitic life for women, 9-12, 28-30, 51, 60-80, 106, 113 f., 166 f., 171; building of convent, 5, 9, 13 f., 27; composition of the *Rule for Nuns*, 5, 9-11, 44-47; letters to the nuns,
- 50, 167, *Vereor*, 54-58, 172; *Coegiati*, 55; *Testamentum*, 11; death, 11 f.; reputation among contemporaries, 12; contributions to the medieval church and culture, 1, 7, 12, 27-30.
 candidates for the community of St. John, 81, 171-73, 189.
capitulum, 194 f.
 Carolingian reform, monastic, 154.
 Carpentras, Council of (527), 6.
 Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, 99-103; *Conlationes*, 99, 100-106 *passim*; influence on the *Rule for Nuns*, 10, 45, 99-106, 163 f., 173, n. 6; 201, n. 75; transmitter of spiritual teachings of Origen and Evagrius, 99; influence on Lerins tradition, 88 f., 99 ff., 164; teaching on contemplative life, 104-106; founder of convent at Mar-seilles, 14, 28, 102; promotion of cenobitic life in the West, 28-30; influence on Western monasticism, 28-30, 157.
 cathedral Office, distinct from monastic Office, 71.
 cellarer, office of Caesarius at Lerins, 3; office of under the *Rule for Nuns*, 69, 85, 180 f., 184.
 Celsa, fifth abbess of St. John, 19.
 Chadwick, O., on Cassian, 102, n. 72; 104 f.
 Chalons-sur-Saône, birthplace of Caesarius, 3.
 Chapman, J., 33 f.
 charity, 4, 81, 83, 95, 112 f., 176, 178 f., 181 f.
 chastity, 54, 56-59, 61 f., 82, 112 f., 140-43, 177 f., 182-84; see also virginity, vow.
 Chevalier, U., 35, 193-201 *passim*.
 Childebert I, King, 158.
 'Christe precamur annue,' hymn in Divine Office, 195.

- Christmas, Office of, 74, 86, 107; fasting before, 87, 196.
 Chrysostom, John, St., 52, n. 17.
 Clercq, C. de, 158.
 cloister, regulations for in the *Rule for Nuns*, 80 f., 171, 173 f., 178, 180 ff., 189 f., 191 f., 204; basic idea in the *Rule*, 17, 48 f., 64-66. *Clothar II*, 18 f.
Codex regularis of Benedict of Aniane, 32, 47, 92, 98.
 Columban, St., 19, 158.
 common life, 25, 70, 81 f., 91, 100 f., 103 ff., 110, 112 f., 115, 132, 139-39, 161, 165, 173-74, 175, 179-80, 188-89.
 Compline, *Completa*, 75.
 compunction, 54, 171, 181.
 contemplative life, 51, 66, 69, 70 ff., 79-80, 85, 99, 104-106, 130 f., 139, 170, 175-77.
 Convent of St. John, 5, 11 ff., 20-26, 69-70, 154, 170.
 Corbett, P. B., on the *Regula Magistri*, 32, 95-98, 156, 164.
 correction of faults, 62, 84, 174, 178-79, 181-82, 185, 187, 192.
 correspondence, rules for, 80, 178, 189.
 Courtois, C., 28 ff.
 criticism, internal, Morin's method of, 32-33, 35-44.
 Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, co-author of *Vita sancti Caesarii*, 2, n. 3; 15-16, 106.
 dalmatic, privilege of wearing granted to deacons of Arles, 5 f.
 De Bruyne, D., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 107, 125, 136, nn. 198, 200; 209, 214; see also 116, n. 139.
 "Deus creator omnium," Ambrosian hymn in Divine Office, 200.
 "Deus qui certibus legibus," hymn in Divine Office, 200.
 Deuterius, 34, n. 16.
 devil, 41-42, 53, 57, 95, 171, 176, 178, 181, 187.
 Dickinson, J. C., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 119, 214.
directaneus, 194, 199 f.
 Divine Office, 3, 4, 25, 33, 35, 70-80, 85-87, 151-53, 192-202; for the dead, 86, 201 f., see also *opus dei*.
 Donatus, bishop of Besançon, 48, 158.
 Donatus, founder of monastery at Servitanum, 116.
 "double cathedrals," 23 f.
Duodecima, 75, 86, 194 f.
 Duval, A., v, 50, 70, 214.
 economic support for the convent of St. John, 11 f., 15, 70.
 education, of the nuns, 25, 84, 175; not provided for seculars, 81, 104, 173.
 Emmeran, bishop of Poitiers, 161.
 Ennodius, 12.
 Eonius, bishop of Arles, 4, 206.
 Epiphany, Office of, 86, 197; fasting before and after, 87, 190-97.
 eremitical life, 3, 29, 62, 105.
 Erhard, bishop of Poitiers, 161.
 Eucherius, monk of Lerins, 3, 99 f.; bishop of Lyons, 4; writings a source for Caesarius, 92 f.
eulogium panis, blessed bread, 178.
 Eusebius Gallicanus (also Pseudo-Eusebius), 89, 93 f.
 excommunication from common life, 84, 174, 181-82, 192.
exempla in monastic tradition, 94, 164.
 exemption, monastic, from episcopal authority, vi, 11 f., 60 f., 159, 168, 192.
 Evagrius, 52, n. 17; 99.
 Fasting, 60, 87, 151, 184, 190 f., 202 f.
 Fathers of the Church, 10, 45, 88.

- Fathers of the Desert, 10, 69, 72, 88, 99 f., 150.
 Faustus, monk of Lerins, 3; bishop of Riez, 4, 88 f., 92 f., 100, 104.
 Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, 158.
 fidelity to rule, 12, 52, 61, 82, 187-92 *passim*.
 Firminus, bishop of Uzès, co-author of *Vita sancti Caesarii*, 2, n. 3; 15-10, 100.
 Florentius, author of *Vita sanctae Rusticulae*, 10 ff.
formatio, the novice mistress, 42, 69, 85, 171, 182, 184.
 Fortunatus, Venantius, 12, 16-18, 31, 159-60.
 Franceschini, E., on the *Regula Magistri*, 90, n. 43; 215.
 friendships of nuns with clerics and seculars, 80-81, 160, 186, 188.
 Fructuosus, St., 110, 121, 157.
 "Fulgentius auctor aetheris," hymn in Divine Office, 200.
 furnishings of the Convent of St. John, 26, 82, 185 f., 190.
 Genesius, St., 13.
 Gindele, C., on the *Regula Magistri*, 73; on elements of the Divine Office, 72, 77-79, 193-98 *passim*, 215.
 "Gloria in excelsis deo," 199.
 government, detailed system of in the convent of St. John, 47, 67-69.
 grace, 6, 53, 57, 89, 170; see also Gregory, bishop of Tours, 12, 17 f., 31, 48, 65, n. 80; 160.
 habit, religious, 57, 81 f., 91, 171, 179, 185 f., 189.
 heaven, 2, 3, 8, 40, 52 f., 60, 93, 106, 110, 170, 187, 191, 204.
 "Hic est dies verus dei," Ambrosian hymn in Divine Office, 194.
 Hilary, monk of Lerins, 3; bishop of Arles, 4, 24.
 Hippo, convent in, 108, 114, 118; monastery of St. Augustine in, 114, 118.
 Holy Cross, monastery of at Poitiers, 17, 159-61.
 Holy Savior, convent founded by Cassian at Marseilles, 14, 29, 67, 101 f.
 Honoratus, founder of monastery of Lerins, 3, 30, 99; bishop of Arles, 4.
 Hormisdas, Pope, 8, 11, 35, 67, 70, n. 116; 192.
 Hubert, J., 22-24.
 humility, 4, 50, 70, 91, 99, 101, 111 f., 139, 175 f., 179, 182.
 Humpfer, W., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 107, n. 98; 119-21, 216.
 hymns, Ambrosian, 77, 193 f., 200; of Ambrosian school, 77, 194-200 *passim*.
 "Iam sexta sensim volvitur," hymn in Divine Office, 193.
 "Iam surgit hora tertia," Ambrosian hymn in Divine Office, 193.
 Ildefonsus, 110.
 Indwelling Presence, 81, 139, 170.
 infirmarian, 69, 83, 146, 180-81, 184.
 integrity of the text of the *Rule for Nuns*, 31 ff.
 Isidore of Seville, St., 116, 121, 157.
 Jerome, St., 28.
 Job, model of married persons, 59.
 John, abbot of monastery of Reome, 95, 97, 98, 100.
 John the Baptist, St., patron of convent built by Caesarius, 14; cult of at Lerins, 14, 97; chapel of in the Basilica of St. Mary, 15.
 judgment, 6, 40, 52, 93, 184 f., 190, 192, 204.

- junior, a younger religious, 103, 148, 181.
 Krusch, B., 17 ff., 34, 205.
 Lambot, C., analysis of the *Rule for Nuns*, v, 50; significance of its cloister regulations, v, 50, 64-66, 80, 183; its Ordo, 71, 75, 193-202 *passim*; its influence, 154, 168; on monastic exemption, 11, 67; on the abbesses of the convent of St. John, 14 f., 17, 19; on the *Rule for Monks* of Caesarius, 91 f.; on dates of Caesarius' life, 205; on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 64, 90, 108-15, 117-26, 163, 165; writings, 217.
 Lauds, 74 f., 80, 194, 199.
laus perennis, perpetual chant, 73, 156.
 Leander, St., 116, 121, 157.
 lectures, lessons in Divine Office, 76, 86, 195 f.
 Lent, 74, 87, 151, 196-97.
 Lerins, monastery of, 3, 9, 29, 89, 96 f.; monastic tradition of, 4, 29, 89-107.
 Lilliola, third abbess of St. John, 17 ff.
 liturgy, Gallican, 71 ff.; see also Divine Office, Ordo.
Lucernarium, 75, 86, 194, 199; see also Vespers.
 Luxeuil, monastery of, 158.
 Macarius, St., cult of at Lerins, 95, 97, 98; see also *Rule of the Four Fathers*.
 "Magna et mirabilia," hymn in Divine Office, 198.
 Mahory, A., 1, 3, 24, 29, 62 f., 65 ff., 90 f., 205 f.
 Mandonnet, P., 49, 108, 118 ff., 218.
 manuscripts of the *Rule for Nuns*, 31-34.
 Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, 159.
 Marseilles, Council of (533), 6.
 Martin of Tours, St., 15, 29.
 martyrs, feasts of, 74, 200 f.
 Mary, Blessed Virgin, 23, 52, 58 f., 191; see also Basilica of St. Mary.
 Massai, F., 14, n. 66; 32, 76, n. 141; 95-98, 156, 218.
 Mass, Holy Sacrifice of, 25, 183.
matutinales canonici, matutinarum, matutinos, see Lauds.
 Maurice, St., Abbey of at Agaune, 156.
 "Mediae noctis tempus est," hymn in Divine Office, 198.
 Merlin, N., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 118, 218.
 Merovingian monasticism, v, 154-62, 167 f.
 Messianus, a priest, co-author of *Vita sancti Caesarii*, 2, n. 3; 15.
 missa, a reading from Scripture or the Acts of the Martyrs in Divine Office, 76 f., 86, 195 f.
 monastery, figures of, "haven," 58; sheepfold, 17, 53, 171; port, 58.
 monogram at conclusion of the *Rule for Nuns*, 34, n. 16.
 Morin, G., editor of complete works of Caesarius and related documents, v, 1 f., 6, 8, nn. 33, 34; 11; studies on the *Rule for Nuns*, 1 f., 10, 31-47, 207; studies on the sermons of Caesarius, 7, 9; on the *Statutum abbatissae sancti Caesarii*, 10; method of internal criticism, 32 f., 35-37; on dates of Caesarius' life, 205; on the *Regula secunda*, 109; writings, 219.
 Mystical Body, 58 f., 104-100.
 Nieser, A. B., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 118, 219.
 Nocturns, 75, 86, 195 f., 198.
 None, 75, 86, 193 f.

- obedience, 4, 55, 66, 68, 91, 112, 132, 136, 144 f., 148 ff., 165, 173, 175, 180-82 *passim*, 187, 190, 192, vow of, 55, 66; see also fidelity to rule.
- oloserica*, silk, 186 and n. 18.
- Olphe-Galliard, M., on the *Rule for Nuns*, v, 49, n. 1; 65 f., 68 f., 220; on Cassian, 99-106, 163.
- opus dei*, 38, 70 f., 97, 134 f., 174 f.
- Orange, Council of (529), 6.
- oratory, of the convent of St. John, 25, 183, 199 f.
- Ordo for Divine Office and fasting, 10, 33, 35-36, 47, 70-80, 85-87, 94, 151-53, 192-204; see also Divine Office.
- Origen, 45, 52, n. 17; 99.
- ornamentation forbidden in convent of St. John, 26, 82, 195 f., 190.
- pallium, privilege of wearing granted to Caesarius, 5 f. and n. 21.
- Paphnutius, 98.
- Paschal time, Office of, 74, 85 f., 193-95, 198.
- Patroclus, bishop of Arles, 5.
- Penco, G., on the *Regula Magistri*, 96, 220.
- Pentecost, and time after, Office of, 74, 86, 195; fasting regulations, 87, 195 f.
- perseverance in the religious state, 12, 53 f., 56 f., 60, 97, 130, 171, 187 f.
- Pius XII, Pope, *Sponsa Christi*, 50, 53, 169; *Provida Mater Ecclesia*, 50.
- Pienkers, H., 32, 220.
- Plinval, G. de, 4, nn. 15, 16; 0, n. 21; 11, nn. 52, 55; 14, n. 68; 66 f., 166, 220.
- pomerium*, 20, 204.
- Porcarius, abbot of Lerins, 3, 92.
- portress, 69, 85, 143, 160, 175, 180, 184 f.
- Possidius, 115.
- poverty, 55, 64 f., 68, 80, 89, 99 f., 165, 172; see also vow.
- prandium*, lunch, taken on non-fast days, 87, 202 f.
- prayer, private, meditative, 51, 58, 60, 70 f., 85, 104-106, 136, 140, 170, 175 ff., 184; see also contemplative life; for liturgical prayer, see Divine Office and Ordo.
- prerogatives of the See of Arles, 5 f.
- Prime, 75 f., 86, 200.
- primiceria*, the choir mistress or school mistress, 42, 69, 85, 182, 184.
- prioress, 68 f., 84, 136, 143 f., 149, 175, 179, 182, 187.
- probation before reception into the community, 81, 100, 171-73, 189.
- Prologus sive humilis suggestio* of Caesarius, 37.
- prototype of rules adapted to women religious, v, 17, 30, 61, 63 f., 166, 171; of cloister rules, v, 17, 64 ff., 80 f., 166.
- provisor, 42, 81, 177, 182-84.
- psalmody, 72 ff., 192-200.
- psalterium currens*, 73.
- psalterium hebdomadae*, 73.
- punctuality, rules for, 83, 174.
- Purcell, T. P., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 118, 221.
- Radegund, 17 ff., 159-61, 168.
- readings, in Divine Office, see *missa*.
- Recapitulation of the *Rule for Nuns*, 9 ff., 45 ff., 52, translation, 187-92.
- recentes ad dulcissima*, iced wine mixed with must, 202-204, see also wine.
- refectio*, the one meal on fast days, 195, 202 f.
- refectory in Convent of St. John, 25 f.
- Regensburg, convent of, under Abbess Uta, 35, 154, 161.
- regestoria*, treasurer, 69, 85, 180.

- Regula incerti auctoris*, 158.
- Regula Macarii*, 95-99, 211.
- Regula Magistri*, 32 f., 73, 78, 89 f., 95-99, 155-50; see also *Rule of St. Benedict*.
- Regula puellarum*, 35, 117 f.
- Regula Tarnatensis*, 116, 156, 158, 211.
- renunciation, 41, 52, 54-57, 91, 99, 101; see also asceticism.
- responsory, in Divine Office, 77-79, 193-95.
- "Rex aeternae domine," hymn in Divine Office, 198.
- Riché, P., 17 ff., 221.
- "Rule of Cassian," 102 f.
- Rule of the Four Fathers*, 98.
- "Rule of Lerins," 3 f., 94, 163, 191.
- Rule for Monks* of Caesarius, 8, 47 f., 62 f., latin text of, 130-37, 140, 143, 145, 148, 150-53.
- Rule of Pachomius*, 157.
- "Rule proper," chaps. 1-47 of the *Rule for Nuns*, 10, 37, 46 f., 88, 127-29, 163; latin texts, 130-150; translation, 170-92.
- Rule of St. Augustine*, v, 41-44, 63 f., 70, 86 ff., 91, 101, 107-26, 136-50, 157; *Regula secunda*, 107-11, 114, 117 ff.; *Regula Augustini*, 107-11, 114 ff.; *Regula sororum*, 107 f., 114, 116 ff.
- Rule of St. Benedict*, 10, 33-35, 49, 65 f., 68, 72 f., 78 f., 97, 154 ff., 158, 161, 167, 183, n. 14; 202, 70; see also *Regula Magistri*.
- rumination, 103, 177, and n. 10.
- Rusticula, fourth abbess of St. John, 17 ff.
- salutatorium*, parlor in Convent of St. John, 26.
- sanctoral cycle, 74.
- Saphira, 103, 173.
- Sara, model of married woman, 59.
- Schmitz, P., 28, n. 151; 64, 66, 154, 183, 221.
- scola*, dormitory in convent of St. John, 26, 171 f. and n. 4.
- scriptorium, in Convent of St. John, 25 f.
- Semi-Pelagianism, 6, 89, 104.
- Senior*, an elder religious or one holding office, 42, 63, 69, 103, 130, 132, 145, 171, 173, 180, 184.
- Serapion, 98.
- Servitium, monastery of, 116.
- Sext, 75, 86, 193.
- sick, care of, 25 f., 63, 83, 112, 140, 146, 177, 180-81, 184, 202-204.
- Sidonius, Apollinaris, 95.
- silence, rules for, 83, 133 f., 136 f., 174 ff.
- Sillem, A., on Cassian, 105, 221.
- sin, 7, 56 f.
- Smith, C., on the *Regula Magistri*, 96, n. 43; 221.
- spiritual reading, 25, 57, 85, 136 f., 161, 175 f., 201.
- sponsors, baptismal, 81, 134, 166 f., 174.
- stability, 65 f., 80 f., 90, 97, 130, 171; see also cloister, perseverance.
- states of perfection, teaching of Caesarius on, 49-61; current movement for renewal and adaptation, v, 50.
- Statutum abbatissae sancti Caesarii*, 16, 24.
- Stephen, a deacon, co-author of *Vita sancti Caesarii*, 2, n. 3; 15.
- Stephen, St., cathedral of at Arles, 22 ff.
- Stillingus, J., 205 f.
- structure of the *Rule for Nuns*, 44-47, 49.
- style of the *Rule for Nuns*, 35-45, 49, 63.
- suffrages, for Caesarius as Founder, 80, 170, 204, for deceased sister, 86 f., 201 f.

- Susanna, model of married women, 59.
 Syagrius, bishop of Autun, 18, 101.
 Symmachus, Pope, 5.
 Tagaste, monastery of St. Augustine, 118.
 temporal cycle, 74.
 Ten Virgins, parable of, 51, 56, 58 f., 170.
 "Ter hora trina volvitur," hymn in Divine Office, 194.
 Terce, 75, 86, 193, 197 f.
 Teridius, priest, nephew of Caesarius, 8, 34, n. 10; 92, 182 f.
 Testament of Caesarius, 11, 182 f., n. 13.
testrinum, weaving room of Convent of St. John, 20, 204.
 Theurillat, J. M., 156, 221.
 tower of city walls of Arles, 20 ff., 204.
 Trinquetille, monastery of, 9, 91.
 Trophime, St., cathedral of, 23.
 Vaison, Council of (529), 6.
 Vandenbroucke, F., on the *Regula Magistri* and the *Rule of St. Benedict*, 155-56, 222.
 Vanderhoven, H., on the *Regula Magistri*, 32, 95-98, 156, 164.
 Verheijen, M., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 110-22, 222.
 Vespers, 75, 86, 194, 199; see also *Lucernarium*.
 Vicaire, M. H., on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, 119, 105, 222.
 Vienne, ecclesiastical province of, 5.
 Vigilius, Pope, 205 f.
 Vigils, 25, 75 ff., 86, 195-201.
 virginity, consecrated (29 f., 49-60, 106, 170, 174, 191; see also chastity, vow, Ten Virgins, parable of.
Visio Pauli, apocryphal text, 96, 156.
 visitors to the convent, 26, 54, 80-81, 179, 182 ff.
Vitae Patrum, 92.
Vita sancti Caesarii, 1-5, 9, 12-16, 21, 25, 27, 48, 50, 60, 80, 84, 91, 166.
Vita sanctae Rusticulae, 16 ff.
 Vivarium, monastery at, 87, 114.
 Viventius, a bishop, co-author of *Vita sancti Caesarii*, 2, n. 3; 15-16, 106.
 Vow, religious, 55 f., 66; of virginity, 54 ff.; of stability, 65 f.; of poverty, 66; of *conversio morum*, 66.
 warfare, spiritual, 52 ff., 57, 63, 89 f.; see also asceticism, renunciation.
 weekly turns at household duties, 82, 99.
 Weigel, G., 91, 222.
 wine, use of, 174, 180, 202 f. and n. 77.
 wool work, 27, 69 f., 85, 143 f., 145, 179 f.
 Zimmerman, O. J., on the *Regula Magistri*, 96, n. 43; 222.